

PLATO'S ACADEMY

The Academy was a philosophical school established by Plato that safeguarded the continuity and the evolution of Platonism over a period of about 300 years. Its contribution to the development of Hellenistic philosophical and scientific thinking was decisive, but it also had a major impact on the formation of most of the other philosophical trends emerging during this period. This volume surveys the evidence for the historical and social setting in which the Academy operated, as well as the various shifts in the philosophical outlook of Platonism during its existence. Its contribution to the evolution of special sciences such as mathematics is also examined. The book further includes the first complete annotated translation in English of Philodemus' *History of the Academy*, preserved on a papyrus from Herculaneum. It thus offers a comprehensive picture of one of the most prominent and influential of all educational institutions in ancient Greece.

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PLATO'S ACADEMY

Its Workings and Its History

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Preface

The papers that appear in the present volume were originally presented at a conference entitled 'Plato's Academy: A Survey of the Evidence', held on 12–16 December 2012 by the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. The conference, which was part of the project 'Plato's Academy – Development of Knowledge and Innovative Ideas' sponsored by the Greek Ministry of Education and by the European Social Fund (2007–13), was under the auspices of HE the President of the Hellenic Republic Dr Karolos Papoulias. The editors, who also acted as the organising committee for the conference, wish further to express their gratitude to the former Minister of Education Mrs Anna Diamantopoulou, to the Vice-Rector of the University of Athens Professor Thomas Sfikopoulos and to Professor Vasso Kindi for their valuable assistance.

The papers included here are meant to represent the multifarious character of Plato's school, the diversity of the types of learning pursued in it and the various aspects of its interaction with contemporary historical and social circumstances. On the other hand, special care has been given in order to integrate the multiple approaches involved into a comprehensive narrative that reflects the complex nature of the exercise of philosophy in antiquity as being an activity far more variegated than a purely academic endeavour. The evolution of the Academy's philosophical stance through various stages is also an important key for our understanding of its historical course, its theoretical versatility and its significance for the development of ancient thought. Philodemus' *History of the Academy* is undoubtedly one of the primary sources on this topic preserved for us from antiquity thanks to the ashes of Vesuvius. For this reason, we have decided to include this invaluable document as an Appendix, translated for the first time in its entirety into English and accompanied by a mainly historical commentary. This should enable even the non-specialist reader to derive a comprehensive picture of the development of the school during the three centuries of its existence.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Paul Kalligas

Plato's Academy is commonly regarded as the most prestigious and most influential of all educational institutions in antiquity. Founded by one of the greatest thinkers of all times, its activity as a centre of philosophical and scientific research spanned at least three centuries (from c.387 to c.86 BC), while the influence it has exerted on contemporary and later philosophical and scientific thought is almost impossible to overestimate. The Academy's history is supposed to reflect not only the theoretical aspirations of its founder and his followers, but also the manner in which they believed their views should operate within a given social context. For, apparently, it was conceived not merely as a school of philosophical training, but also as a venue for the pursuit of scientific research, as well as a forum offering practical advice on political matters and advocating philosophy as a guide on how to best conduct one's private and civic life. Moreover, the Academy produced some of the most brilliant minds in all these areas, who have greatly influenced the development of human thinking ever since. Its importance has been universally acknowledged, both in antiquity and in modern times, even by thinkers by no means favourably disposed towards the intellectual achievements that emerged within its confines.

Modern researchers are therefore surprised and shocked when they realize how little we actually know today about its history, its development, its organization and its operation; how obscure several crucial aspects of its social profile still remain, and how many of the commonly held beliefs about it are in fact no more than fanciful myths or pious speculations. This is certainly not because there has been a scarcity of eminent scholars willing to expend considerable amounts of energy and dedicate their scholarship to try to assemble the existing evidence into a coherent picture that elucidates the Academy's basic characteristics, institutional status, internal organization and the methods of intellectual training and research that were employed there during the school's

heyday. Names such as those of K. G. Zumpt, U. von Wilamowitz, P. Boyancé, H. Cherniss, J. Glucker and J. Dillon suffice to indicate the high standards of acumen and scholarship that have been brought to bear on solving the so-called ‘Riddle of the Academy’ over the past two centuries. Nevertheless, the questions that remain stubbornly unanswered or hotly debated still vastly outnumber and heavily overshadow the few certainties that can be accepted as such. Besides, a comprehensive account of the history of the school as a whole, of its philosophical evolution, its scientific contributions and its political and social significance has yet to appear, thus leaving much to be desired in any attempt to form an overall picture of its import. Even the archaeological record appears to be distressingly ambiguous and confusing: at the moment there are no conclusive results on its exact location and the precise character of the structures that have been revealed in the excavations in the larger area of its purported site. The sole incontrovertible find from its locale was accidentally unearthed in 1966. It is a boundary stone (*horos*) excavated *in situ* near the junction of Aimonos and Tripoleos Streets in modern Athens; it bears the inscription Η]ΟΡΟΣ ΤΕΣ ΗΕΚΑΔΕΜΕΙΑΣ and is dated by the style of its lettering to the early fifth century BC, more than a century before Plato became active in the area.

It seems quite remarkable that the Academy receives only one mention in Plato’s dialogues, and a rather casual one at that, in the introduction of the *Lysis*: it is described there as one of the places frequented by Socrates. Aristotle never refers to the area as a place where any teaching actually took place. Most of the pertinent information is derived from much later sources, such as Diogenes Laertius, Philodemus’ *History of the Academy*, Numenius and the later Neoplatonists, all working at second remove or more from any contemporary testimony. The reliability of these sources is an intensely debated issue, but everyone, I think, would agree that in most cases we have to rely on what would normally be regarded as rather shaky evidence.

What appears to be certain is that the wider area of the grove dedicated to the hero Academus or Hecademus, which in ancient times was known as the Academy (Ἀκαδημία), was home to one of ancient Athens’ public gymnasia; as was customary, it was situated outside the city walls, at a distance of about a mile from the Dipylon Gate to the north-west of the Agora and beyond the famous public cemetery known as the Δημόσιον Σῆμα. Plato, who belonged to the nearby deme of Collytus, is said by Diogenes to have engaged in philosophizing in this area as a young man, even before he acquired any property in the nearby elevation of Hippius

Colonus; Olympiodorus, on the other hand, seems to report that he eventually established his school in the gymnasium itself (διδασκαλεῖον ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ συνεστήσατο). The status of this διδασκαλεῖον and its precise connection to the other activities taking place in the gymnasium, which usually involved physical and military training, remain unclear, but there are certain indications that at least part of the educational process was eventually transferred to Plato's own property, which comprised a modest house (οἰκίσκος) and a small garden (κηπίδιον or χωρίδιον). According to Aelian's testimony (*VH* 3.19), this is where the master confined himself late in his life, when Aristotle and his gang of acolytes bullied him with their dogged questioning, forcing him to abandon his usual, presumably public, walking ground or *peripatos*. No doubt, it would be reasonable to assume that Plato's idea to create a school was to an extent influenced by the comparable Pythagorean institutions of South Italy, on the operation of which he must have had the chance to acquire some information at the time of his first visit to Sicily. However, considerable adjustments were undoubtedly required in order to transplant any such model to accommodate for the requirements imposed by the considerably dissimilar social and cultural context of a public gymnasium in democratic Athens. On the other hand, one should keep in mind that, as his oeuvre amply testifies, Plato's main source of inspiration in promoting engagement with philosophy was always the Socratic manner of conducting a discussion, although this manifestly wanes in his later dialogues.

At any rate, the extent to which the intellectual activities cultivated in the gymnasium of the Academy at the time of Plato and his immediate successors can be said to amount to a systematic or even a consistent educational programme is far from clear. It has been customary to think that the curriculum for the instruction of the Guardians expounded by Plato in book 7 of his *Republic* must reflect, to some extent at least, the teaching practices employed in the Academy. However, such facile extrapolations about the way in which the Academy actually operated can prove precarious, for we need to take into consideration the social conditions prevailing in fourth-century Athens. One has to be reminded, for instance, that the study of dialectic in the *Republic* is postponed until its prospective practitioners have reached the age of thirty, and then pursued only after they have been subjected to certain strict qualifying tests (*R.* 537d). This does not sit well with the fact that the Academy's students are routinely described as 'youngsters' (νεανίσκοι) in our sources (e.g. Philodemus, Atheneaus, Aelian; cf. [Pl.] *Epin.* 990c4–5). It would further

be most inappropriate to introduce such 'screening' methods for selecting pupils within the liberal ambiance of a public Athenian gymnasium.

It is also recorded in our sources that, apart from the teaching and research activities that one would expect to be cultivated in such a school, banquets and other social events were also held there, but otherwise the only neighbour we hear being mentioned is none other than the notorious misanthrope Timon, whose tower is known to have dominated the area. It is most probable that some of the school's activities usually took place near a shrine dedicated by Plato to the Muses in the Academy's grove, a *μουσεῖον*, where his successor Speusippus later added statues of the Graces and, presumably, even later a Persian admirer of Plato called Mithradates dedicated a portrait of the master crafted by the sculptor Silanion. This, however, would in no way have determined the content or character of the teaching occurring in such an environment. The only aspect of which we can be relatively certain is the persistent use of dialectic as a means for presenting and debating the various views discussed, whereas set lectures appear to have formed the exception rather than a regular feature, if we take into account Aristoxenus' testimony about Plato's famous lecture *On the Good*. The available evidence on the precise characteristics of the dialectic method employed on such occasions is rather obscure and by no means conclusive, even though it seems to have conformed to some fairly formal and precise rules. In principle, a more or less authoritative depiction of it might be obtained by examining some pertinent texts, such as the second part of Plato's *Parmenides* and the detailed account offered by Aristotle in his *Topics*. These sources, however, are fraught with notorious exegetical difficulties, and a systematic analysis of them with the aim of reconstructing the exact framework and the specific rules governing disputations in the older Academy remains a desideratum. One may hope that the present collection of essays will encourage further research on this fascinating topic.

There is a well-known anecdote according to which Plato purchased the property close to the gymnasium of the Academy using the money collected by his friends (i.e., most probably, Dio) with the purpose of reimbursing the ransom paid by Anniceris of Cyrene in order to rescue the master from the slave market in Aegina, after his infelicitous first journey to Sicily. Anniceris, however, subsequently refused to accept that sum. This may well be, in part or as a whole, no more than just another piece of imaginative fiction; however, it accords fairly well with the generally accepted date for the establishment of Plato's philosophical school in the area, namely the year 387 BC. If this is so, then dialogues such as

the *Meno*, supposedly composed at about this time, could arguably reflect, at least to some extent, the kind of teaching provided in the school itself, which involved systematic exercise in the definitional technique, mathematical training, dialectical argumentation based on hypothetical premises, and the meticulous examination of established views on political, educational and moral issues.

Plato apparently continued to teach until the end of his life and, in the meantime, the school had acquired enough organizational backbone as to require someone to supervise its proceedings during the intervals when the head was absent. We hear, for example, that when Aristotle first joined the Academy in 367 BC, Eudoxus of Cnidus was acting as stand-in scholarch (*Aristot. V. Marc.* II, *V. Lat.* II), since Plato was away on his second visit to Sicily. A further clue concerning the organizational structure underlying the school's operation is revealed by the fact that, after the demise of its founder, its continuity was safeguarded through a regular series of successions, where each new scholarch was appointed in accordance with certain procedures whose legitimacy was recognized even by those left unhappy with the result, as was the case with Aristotle and his abortive candidacy. Indeed, we are in a position to compile a nearly continuous list of the heads of the school from the time of Plato up to that of Philo of Larissa in the first century BC. This betokens an uninterrupted line of succession connecting these two figures, perhaps an unparalleled achievement among the known secular institutions of the ancient world.

Nonetheless, such institutional continuity by no means implies rigid adherence to some fixed body of doctrines. In fact, the Academy is also well known for its lack of a definitive doctrinal core around which cohesion and a common general outlook could be maintained. Already at the very beginning, the first successor of Plato, his nephew Speusippus, is known to have deviated from the teaching of his master on some of the most fundamental tenets of his philosophy, even repudiating his emblematic doctrine, the famous Theory of Forms. Indeed, there is not the slightest indication that, during the long period of the Academy's existence, there was any time that a specific doctrine, or even a certain philosophical attitude, was ever regarded as epitomizing the authentic stance of the school. There is no evidence that any notion of 'orthodoxy' ever emerged among its members (that is, until the final disputes surrounding its ultimate phase), and it is quite remarkable that even the works of its founder, albeit presumably consulted regularly (even if not always consistently), do not appear to have been adduced as containing an

authoritative exposition of the school's official doctrines. Such a pattern of dogged independence vis-à-vis any sort of received dogma seems to permeate the entire history of the school, and on various occasions caused several fierce debates to emerge within its boundaries. It has even obscured the issue of when exactly the Academy ceased to exist. Various answers have been given to this vexed question by different scholars over time, ranging from those who have argued for its nearly millennial continuity until the closure of all the philosophical schools in Athens at the time of the emperor Justinian, in AD 529, to those more recently upholding the view that Plato's school ceased to operate in the area of the Academy after the destruction of that part of the city by the invading forces of Sulla, in 86 BC. The gloomy description of its deserted grounds provided by Cicero at the beginning of the fifth book of his *De finibus* is a strong indication that, at the time of his visit there, less than a decade after the event, philosophical teaching had already become a thing of the past. It should be noted that the very notion of Platonism as a definite set of doctrines is something that emerged only after that period, at a time when individual and independent Platonic teachers active in other parts of the Roman empire felt they needed to organize their teaching around a core of dogmatic positions generally perceived as genuinely 'Platonic', as well as on the basis of a meticulous and systematic reading of the Platonic dialogues.

As far as we know, then, there is no strict continuity to be discerned in the teaching that took place in the Academy during the three centuries of its existence. From the outset, a pattern of repeated radical shifts in the positions and attitudes of its members seems to have been the norm, usually following the direction initiated by each successive scholarch. Indeed, it is quite remarkable that, as already noted, the very notion of a set of doctrines representing what should be regarded as a distinctive Platonic heritage, as well as the term 'Platonism' itself, only emerged after the discontinuation of the school's activity near the grove of Academus. Nonetheless, certain intellectual traits are peculiar to the school throughout its history and obviously reflect aspects of Plato's original teaching, at least as this is mirrored in his dialogues; these possibly also echo views upheld by him in the course of his oral lectures. Two of the most important such traits that, though not unconnected between them, acquired different degrees of pre-eminence in various historical circumstances, and can be regarded as of paramount importance throughout its history are: a) a pronounced emphasis on the dialectic method as a means of arguing for or against any philosophical position by debating on both sides of any

putative or actually held alternative; and b) the fundamental downgrading of, if not complete distrust for, perceptual cognition.

The first of these traits can easily be traced back to Socratic practice, as well as to the method advocated by Parmenides in Plato's eponymous dialogue, and presumably bore some relation to the manner in which Plato himself performed his educational duties in the school. However, it obviously evolved greatly from the formal debating technique analysed by Aristotle in his *Topics*, reaching the level of the spectacular artistry displayed by Carneades in his famous set of lectures delivered in Rome during his visit in 155 BC. There can be no doubt that this practice encouraged an understanding of philosophy as a communal enterprise, one involving a continuous exchange of views and arguments in a spirit of open and unprejudiced, albeit occasionally fierce, debate.

The second trait also took various forms, from Plato's own occasionally drastic repudiation of the senses, for instance in the *Phaedo* and the *Theaetetus*, to the systematic criticism levelled against all kinds of empiricist epistemology by the Sceptical Academy. This was a topic that caused a major disruption among the members of the school during the last years of its formal existence, and eventually led to important new developments in the way Platonism was conceived.

Nonetheless, the variety of approaches that have been proposed within this framework is truly astounding, and led to serious disagreement even within the school itself. It thus comes as no surprise that already in antiquity the continuity and the uniqueness of Academic teaching was sometimes called into question and caused considerable disagreement. One issue that should, therefore, be addressed in any modern attempt seeking to arrive at an overall assessment of the position of the Academy in the ancient philosophical tradition is to clarify whether it consistently adhered to certain distinctive theoretical trends such as the ones mentioned above. A second area of research pertains to the importance of scientific research as an integral part of the school's theoretical endeavour. Mathematics, for example, was always thought to constitute one of its primary areas of interest, but it is still unclear to what extent the engagement with and the methodology of mathematical sciences had any impact on the way in which philosophy was conducted, or whether a reverse causality held true.

Such an assessment of its achievements may appear anticlimactic to those expecting more tangible results from an examination of an institution as prestigious as the Academy. Nonetheless, there is perhaps a salutary – one might even venture to say almost Socratic – conclusion that

follows from the realization of how little we actually know about what went on inside Plato's school. For, in this way, we may come to better appreciate how indeed precious the little we know about it is. We could grasp that this reflects the openness that characterized it throughout its long history, the fact that it remained primarily a forum of discussion and debate rather than a bastion of unassailable doctrinal orthodoxy. In this perspective, even its ultimate extinction might no longer appear as a mere historical accident, but as a development congruent with its eventual morphing into a propagator of Platonic doctrine.

Now, although there is a considerable amount of contemporary literature on various aspects of the Academy's activities, it seems that we still lack a comprehensive treatment of its overall contribution to the intellectual and social life of the Hellenistic period. The importance of examining the Academy within its broader intellectual and social context becomes even more pressing in view of the fact that, in antiquity, philosophy was far more than a speculative engagement with purely theoretical issues. It involved the practical application of the results reached by means of theoretical argument, and such application was commonly regarded as an integral part of what philosophy is about. This realization entails that, in order to properly appreciate the contribution of the great thinkers of antiquity and of institutions such as the Academy, we need to take into account the ways in which they tried to implement their theoretical pursuits within their historical environment. This is, of course, a vast, extremely complex and variegated undertaking that cannot be adequately pursued in a single volume such as the present one. But the aim of this publication – as of the conference out of which it has evolved – is to lay out a preliminary outline of some of the main directions along which the study of the Academy should proceed and, furthermore, to highlight the ways in which these diverse approaches may elucidate one another, thus contributing towards a more comprehensive understanding of such a complex phenomenon, its ramifications and implications for the history of thought.

In trying to arrive at a comprehensive view concerning the Academy's operation, one has further to closely examine its place within contemporary Athenian society, as well as the social and political implications of the activity of some of its most prominent members, known to have assumed public duties and even to have represented the city on various occasions, e.g. as envoys and ambassadors. One should also note in this connection Plutarch's testimony (*Adv. Col.* 32.1126c), according to which Plato's teaching was instrumental in bringing about significant political

changes in various areas of the Greek-speaking world, no less by assigning several members of the Academy (including Eudoxus and Aristotle) to reform the constitutions of their home cities. The school's political aspirations can be further gauged by examining the corpus of letters attributed to Plato and his successors; these underline its status as a sort of political 'think tank' whose influence extended all over the Greek world.

It seems quite obvious that such an understanding of the historic significance of the Academy cannot be attained without further taking into account the archaeological evidence from the area where it was founded. Although the results of excavations in the site have so far been mostly tentative and rather inconclusive, they can still offer valuable insights into the cultural background against which Plato's school operated; furthermore, there are some intriguing, if controversial, suggestions about its exact location, the buildings existing in the area, and the organization and arrangement of the teaching activities taking place therein.

Another important testimony on the history and activity of the Academy can be found in Philodemus' *Syntaxis of the Philosophers*, whose text has been preserved in two somewhat divergent versions in two mutilated papyri from the library of Herculaneum. This is antiquity's sole extant text that contains a complete account of Plato's school from its foundation until the time of Philo of Larissa and Antiochus of Ascalon. Although known for about one and a half centuries, the *Syntaxis* has not yet been fully translated into English, and has so far been accessible only to specialists capable of negotiating its considerable textual and other pitfalls resulting from its very poor state of preservation. It was thus considered expedient to include a translation of it here, taking advantage of the important advances in the restitution of the text achieved by recent research.

To be sure, debating was a staple activity for the members of the Academy during most of their time there; all these debates led to the emergence of some of the most refined, complex, subtle, and sometimes abstruse philosophical ideas and arguments to be found in the history of thought. The ambivalent connotations the term 'academic' sometimes carries up to our own time can undoubtedly be attributed, at least in part, to this fact. Indeed, although during the Hellenistic period the term was habitually employed in reference to the members of the school or the various philosophical positions held by its members, in later times it was principally used to designate a particular type of allegiance to Platonism, one that was also informed by a strong vein of Scepticism (see, e.g., Anon. in *Thet.* 54.39–43 Bastianini-Sedley, in contrast with 2.11–12 and fr.

D). This certainly reflects the unfolding of intellectual developments within the school itself, but it has also significantly influenced the way in which its achievements were received by later thinkers and up to more recent times.

In general, one might reasonably contend that the Academy's history is a typically Greek phenomenon. Such a bizarre coalescence of high intellectual aspirations and attainment, brilliant thinking, indefatigable arguing and assiduous reasoning, radically novel ideas, subtlety of expression, lofty political ideals and ambitions, and avid scientific curiosity with much idle talk, bitter polemic, pedantic scholasticism, occasional verbal trickery, devious political machinations and petty academic intrigue, coupled with a disregard, if not unqualified disdain for commonly observable facts, is one that can hardly be imagined to emerge with all its glaring contradictions in any other part of the world. Even so, the intellectual momentum that all these tensions produced has rendered the school of Plato an enduring source of both fascination and inspiration.

In the Shadow of Athena Polias
The Divinities of the Academy, the Training of Politai and
Death in Service to Athens

Daniela Marchiandi

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the pre-Platonic history of the area of the Academy, that is, before the arrival of the philosophers.

We know that Plato taught for a long time in a pre-existing gymnasium (387–367) and then, on his return from the second trip to Sicily, bought a property nearby, and it was in this ‘small garden in the Academy’ (κηπίδιον ... τὸ ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ) that he founded his school.¹ I argue that, from the very beginning, the choice of the site was not coincidental but instead reflects the roots of Plato and his followers within a specific cultural background of which the Academy served as the heart. This cultural background will be my focus.

According to some literary sources the Academy was about one and half kilometres from the *asty*. Two Roman authors, Livy and Cicero, mention this distance, though they differ slightly.² The distance was covered by a road coming out from the Dipylon Gate, one of the two gates of the Ceramicus. This route was probably called the *Dromos*³ and surely

¹ D.L. 3.7, 10; cf. Glucker 1978: 226–8; Caruso 2013: 32–3; on Plato’s life cf. now Nails 2006; on the kepos of Plato see Marchiandi 2014a. On the gymnasium of the Academy in general see: Travlos 1971: 42–51; Billot 1989; Kyle 1993: 71–7; Trombetti 2013: 6–29; Caruso 2013; Marchiandi 2014b; moreover cf. Panayiotopoulos and Chatziefthimiou and Lygouri-Tolia in this volume.

² The *mille ferme passus* mentioned by Livy (31.24.10) do not coincide exactly with the *sex stadia* recorded by Cicero (*Fin.* 5.1.1), whatever the value we attribute to the *stadium*.

³ Despite the importance of this route in the Athenian topography, its ancient name is not clearly indicated in the preserved literary tradition, so that it remains very controversial in the scholarly opinion. In the fourth century AD, Himerius called *Dromos* the road leading from the Dipylon to the Agora inside the walls (Him. *Or.* 3.12). The *communis opinio* has reasonably extended this definition to the whole of the way, from the Agora down to the Academy. Certainly this route was considered the *dromos*, that is the ‘track’ for excellence in Athens, since it was the setting of a crucial race in the civic ideology, the *lampadēdromia*, i.e. the torch race which took place during the Panathenaic festival: see below. By contrast, German scholars think that the toponym *Kerameikos* inscribed on a series of boundary stones found along this way was the specific name of the road: Siewert 1999, Stroszeck 2003, Steffelbauer 2007; cf. Ruggeri 2013: 29–30, 93–5, 120–3, Stroszeck 2014: 33–9. As claimed by American scholars, this theory seemingly contradicts the ancient sources that considered the Ceramicus merely a place: see e.g. Plin. *HN* 35.155.2 (*locus*); Paus. 1.3.1 (*chōrion*); cf. *Agora* 3.223–4; *Agora* 19.11–13; Marchiandi 2014c.

differed markedly from all the other extra-urban ways in Athens.⁴ In the classical period it had the exceptional width of 40 m.⁵ Such an unparalleled size can be explained only by virtue of the particularly important role it played in the Athenian civic ideology.

Along the sides of this road – and more precisely ‘from both sides’, as we are told by a Hellenistic traveller – were erected the *stēlai* which commemorated the fallen Athenian soldiers.⁶ These monuments constituted the *Dēmosion Sēma* or *Mnēma* or *Taphos*, a sort of monumental cemetery reserved for the citizens who lost their lives in war.⁷ Here, once a year, in the month of *Pianepsion* (October–November), a solemn ceremony took place at the expense of the *polis*. All citizens were invited to participate: not only the families of the deceased but the entire community, including the metics. The ashes of the soldiers who had fallen on the several battlefields during the previous campaign season were placed in ten cases, corresponding to the ten Cleisthenic tribes. Then they were buried in collective graves, the *polyandreia*. At the same time a man who was previously chosen by the city gave a speech, the *epitaphios logos*, a eulogy for the dead. We learn these details from Thucydides’ account of the ceremony celebrated in the winter of 431 BC in honour of the casualties in the first year of the Peloponnesian War.⁸ On this occasion Pericles himself was asked to give the official funeral oration.⁹

The names of the fallen people were inscribed on large *stēlai* erected on the *polyandreia*. As for the ashes, the names also were divided according

⁴ On the roads of Athens in general see: Costaki 2006; Ficuciello 2008. For this way in particular: Ruggeri 2013: 29–30, 120–3; cf. Marchiandi 2014c.

⁵ This unusual dimension is attested just outside the Dipylon by the distance between the two *horoi Kerameikou* that marked the limits of the road; on the south-west side the boundary stone is preserved *in situ*; on the north-east side a bedding with the stump of a stele of similar dimensions may have held another such *horos*: see Stroszeck 2003. The same width of the road, however, is confirmed by the archaeological finds even more to the north-west, toward the Academy: *Arch. Delt.* 22, 1967, B’, 88–92 (od. Keratsiniou: 30 m); 27, 1972, B’, 80 (od. Pylou: 40 m); 27, 1972, B’, 130–2 (od. Nafpliou: 24 m). It is worth noting that Livy called this road *via lata* (31.24).

⁶ FGrHist 370 F 4: βαδίζουσι δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν εἰς τῆλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ τεθαμμένοις; cf. FGrHist 370 F 4a: εἰς δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν στήλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ τεθαμμένοις.

⁷ On the toponymy see Bravo 2006; cf. Ruggeri 2013: 128. The bibliography on the *Dēmosion Sēma*, of course, is too large to give a detailed account here. We consider as milestones and indispensable starting points for any future study: Stupperich 1977, Clairmont 1983, Pritchett 1985: 94–259 and 1998: 1–60; more recently cf. Low 2010, 2011; Arrington 2010, 2011, 2015; Ruggeri 2013: 127–223. In particular, on the ideological aspects see: Jacoby 1944a, 1944b; Loraux 1981; Czech-Schneider 1994; Rausch 1999, 221–48; Patterson 2002; Prandi 2003; Marchiandi 2011: 25–9; Marchiandi and Mari 2016. A *status quaestionis* and the complete bibliographical dossier are in Marchiandi 2014d.

⁸ Th. 2.34, with Longo 2000 and Fantasia 2003 *ad loc.*

⁹ In general, on the *epitaphios logos* see Loraux 1981; more recently, cf. Prinz 1997 and Yoshitake 2010.

to the Cleisthenic tribes, without any other information concerning the patronymic or the demotic, that is to say without the most elementary coordinates of Athenian identity. The casualties were therefore virtually unrecognizable. We know of hundreds of fragments of such lists, which have been recovered since the nineteenth century; to them it is possible to add some rare specimens of intact lists and some more or less fragmentary heading reliefs.¹⁰

Pausanias, who walked the road between the Dipylon and the Academy and visited the *Dēmosion Sēma* around the middle of the second century AD, is our main source regarding its monuments.¹¹ At that time the cemetery had not been in use for centuries and had probably already suffered serious injuries.¹² The periegete remembers only twenty-seven *polyandreia*: eighteen dated back to the fifth century, six to the fourth, two to the third and only one to the second century BC. In addition to the collective tombs, he also mentions the monuments of some eminent people who lived between the end of the archaic and the full Hellenistic age.

In 1983, Christoph Clairmont drafted a corpus of the preserved lists and added several dozen collective tombs to the twenty-seven recorded by Pausanias.¹³ In recent years two new lists have been discovered. One belongs to a monument possibly already known, but the other one is from an otherwise unknown monument, which marked the burial of knights fallen in minor (and not easily identifiable) battles of the Peloponnesian War, in the last two decades of the fifth century.¹⁴ The number of the *polyandreia*, therefore, should be considered as provisional.

In spite of such rich literary and epigraphic evidence the location of the *Dēmosion Sēma* has been one of the main cruxes of the Athenian topography.¹⁵ The problem comes from the fact that most of the fragments of the lists are from inside the ancient walls, and particularly from

¹⁰ The lists are collected in Clairmont 1983. To these we can add few new discoveries: SEG 52.60 = Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000 (od. Haghion Asomaton-Dipylou 12/14); SEG 48.83 = Parlama 2000 (od. Paleologou 3); Papazarkadas 2012. On the iconography of Athenian state burials see: Stupperich 1994; Fuchs 2008; Goette 2009; Osborne 2010; Arrington 2015.

¹¹ Paus. 1.29.2–15 with Musti and Beschi 1982 and Papachatzis 1992, vol. 2 *ad loc.*

¹² We know two occasions at least: the raids of Philip V of Macedon in 200 BC (D.S. 28.7) and those of Sulla in 86 BC (Plut. *Sull.* 12.4).

¹³ Clairmont 1983.

¹⁴ SEG 52.60 = Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000; SEG 48.83 = Parlama 2000. Recently, a new fragment of the already known list of the Argive allies who fell at Tanagra in 458 or 457 BC (IG I³ 1149) was recognized: Papazarkadas 2012.

¹⁵ Clairmont 1983, 29–45; J. Binder *ap.* Pritchett 1998, 5–6; Ritchie 1984: 773–8; cf. now Arrington 2010 and 2015; 55–90; Ruggeri 2013, 130–3; Marchiandi 2014d.

the Agora.¹⁶ Only seven (possibly eight) of them were found in the extra-urban, north-western area.¹⁷ Therefore the sanctuary of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste, mentioned by Pausanias immediately before he starts the description of the *Dēmosion Sēma stricto sensu*, has been considered for a long time the only certain topographical milestone. Indeed, the discovery of a number of inscribed ex-votos located it approximately 250 m north-west from the Dipylon.¹⁸

Two recent archaeological findings, however, have revolutionized our knowledge of the north-western suburbs of Athens, answering the long-lasting *vexata quaestio*. In *primis*, the tomb of Lycurgus, recorded by Pausanias at the end of the road, immediately before the entrance of the enclosure of the Academy, was located in 1979, at the intersection of the modern streets Vasilikon (at number 56) and Kratylou.¹⁹ Here, three *sēmata* belonging to several members of the Lycurgus family were recovered.²⁰

The most striking discovery, however, took place in 1997 at 35 Salaminos Street, about 400 m from the Dipylon, on the north-eastern side of the ancient road.²¹ Here the remains of at least five *polyandreia* of the fifth century were brought to light. Unfortunately, the evidence is very meagre and does not provide many elements with which to reconstruct the appearance of the monuments.

In effect, not only the topography, but also the aspect of the *Dēmosion Sēma* has long been controversial. A ceramic fragment, now preserved in Amsterdam, which is usually taken to be from a *loutrophoros*, offers a precious clue: five *stēlai* are depicted side by side on a single base.²² On the fourth one we can clearly read ἐν Βυζαν[τίῳ], namely the formula that, on a preserved list, introduced the soldiers fallen in Byzantium in 447 BC.²³

¹⁶ They were reused there, surely in modern times, but probably already in late antiquity, at least partly. On the lively debate on this topic see: Alipheri 1992–8 and 2000–3; *SEG* 46.73 [R. Stroud]; *SEG* 47.46 [J. Binder]; Lewis 2000–3.

¹⁷ *IG* I³ 1149 fr. m; *IG* I³ 1162; *IG* I³ 1179 fr. a; *IG* II² 5222; *SEG* 28.240 = *SEMA* 1; *SEG* 51.52 (= Matthaiou 2003: 199); *IG* I³ 503/4 Lapis C (cf. Matthaiou 2003: 198). An eighth fragment may be *SEG* 33.44: see Stupperich 1978, but cf. Clairmont 1983: 202–3 no. 59.

¹⁸ Travlos 1971: 301, 322; Arrington 2010: 515, 526–7; Ruggeri 2013: 41–7; cf. Marchiandi 2014e.

¹⁹ Paus. 1.29.15–16. On the excavation see: *Arch.Delt.* 34, 1979, B', 18–20; Vasilopoulou 1987; Matthaiou 1987 (*SEG* 37.160–2); cf. Arrington 2010: 520–1; Marchiandi 2011, Cat.: Keram. dr. 14–15; Ruggeri 2013: 209–11; Marchiandi 2014f.

²⁰ *SEG* 37.160–2 = *SEMA* 174/6.

²¹ *Arch.Delt.* 52, 1997, B', 52–6 [Ch. Stoupa]; cf. Rose 2000; Arrington 2010: 517–18; Marchiandi 2014g.

²² Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 2455; cf. Clairmont 1983: 62, 168–9; Hannah 2010: 273.

²³ *IG* I³ 1162: II.49.

A similar aspect of the *polyandreia* seems to be confirmed by the reconstruction recently proposed for a monument exhibited in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens.²⁴ A long base was inscribed with an epigram in honour of the soldiers fallen in an unspecified battle. The letter-forms point generally to the second half of the fifth century. The precise occasion has been variously identified by scholars, but here the issue does not concern us.²⁵ The suggested reconstruction presents a row of five *stēlai* on a single base very similar to that depicted on the *loutrophoros* fragment in Amsterdam: the result is an inscribed wall, approximately 6 m long and nearly 2 m in height.²⁶ So far this is the most conspicuous evidence of the impressiveness of the monuments that lined the road to the Academy in the classical age.

The chronological question, finally, remains an open issue. In fact we do not know exactly when the *Dēmosion Sēma* was founded. The issue is closely connected to the chronology, very controversial in the scholarly opinion, of the *nomos* that Thucydides calls *patrios*, which was in use in order to repatriate the remains of casualties.²⁷ Pausanias mentions the *mnēmata* of the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, that of Cleisthenes and the *polyandreion* of the casualties in the war against Aegina in 491/90 BC.²⁸ On this basis, some scholars argue that the cemetery had already been established by the Cleisthenic age and was closely connected with the democratic reforms which took place at the end of the sixth century. We know, however, that the soldiers who fell at Marathon (490) and Plataea (479) were buried on the battlefield.²⁹ Other scholars therefore assumed that the practice became widespread only after the Persian Wars, since the soldiers who fell in the Cimonian victory on

²⁴ IG I³ 1163d–f = Athens Epigraphical Museum 12746α, 12746β, 12747.

²⁵ The proposed alternatives are: Coronea, 447/6; Delium, 424/3; Sicilian expedition, 412. Recently, the scholarly debate has been summarized by Arrington 2012, who re-evaluates the case for Delion.

²⁶ Cf. Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000 and Arrington 2012. It is worth noting that another monument that probably was placed in the *Dēmosion Sēma*, a cenotaph in honour of the casualties of the battle of Marathon, was reconstructed in a similar way on the basis of totally autonomous evidence: Matthaiou 1988 and 2003: 197–200.

²⁷ The initiative is variously attributed to: Solon (e.g. Prandi 1990: 48–53); Cleisthenes (e.g. Stupperich 1977: 200–24); Cimon (e.g. Clairmont 1983: 2–3, 7–15); Ephialtes (e.g. Jacoby 1944b: 37–55, with Maltomini 2006). The scholarly debate is summarized by Ruggieri 2013: 129–30; cf. Oikonomou 2013; Marchiandi 2014d; Di Cesare 2015: 218–29.

²⁸ Paus. 1.29.6, 7, 15.

²⁹ Th. 2.34.5 and Paus. 1.29.4 (Marathon); Hdt. 9.85, Th. 3.58.4 and Paus. 9.2.5–6 (Plataea); cf. Porciani 1996. Now we know a fragment of the casualty list of *Marathonomachoi*: SEG 56.430 = Steinhauer 2004–9; for the ongoing, lively debate on this inscription, cf. Steinhauer 2010; Keesling 2012; Proietti 2013a, 2013b; Tentori Montalto 2013, 2014; Olson 2016; Tentori Montalto 2017: 92–102.

the Eurymedon river (perhaps in 469) are the first mentioned by Pausanias.³⁰ It is also likely that the Philaid played a primary role in the codification of the *patrios nomos*. By translating from the island of Skyros the bones of Theseus – the first Athenian ‘fallen’ far from Attica – he seems to have performed a real act of foundation, as part of a sophisticated, propagandistic operation.³¹

Regardless of the problems associated with the founding date, it should be clear by now that in classical Athens the *Dēmosion Sēma* was a crucial focus of civic ideology. Especially in the middle decades of the fifth century, between the end of the Persian Wars and around 430, the *polis* seems to reserve formal burials only for the citizens who have died in wars: the absence of monumental tombs in common cemeteries of Athens and Attica is well proved by the archaeological evidence.³² So the distinction after death, as granted by the funerary monument, was considered a unique privilege: the *polis* gave it only in return for sacrifice on the battlefield.

This ideological construction was, of course, strictly functional to the uninterrupted war effort supported by Athens during the *Pentēkontaetia*, between the foundation phases of the League, after the end of the Persian Wars, and the Peloponnesian War. In this perspective, the *polyandreia* are the ultimate image of a totally pervasive *polis*: it gives many possibilities to its citizens, in terms of individual perspectives within the expanded horizons of the empire, but in return it asks them for more.

In conclusion, the *Dēmosion Sēma* can be considered without fear of contradiction as an authentic milestone in the democratic ideology: a concrete manifestation of the egalitarian and levelling principles on which the Empire was founded. To be sure, these are the same basic principles which find in the Thucydidean epitaph of Pericles their most famous manifesto.

At this point, I would like to pose the following question: why was the *Dēmosion Sēma* placed exactly along the road linking the *asty* to the Academy? In my opinion, the topographical choice is to be explained in the light of the ideological value of the role played by the Academy from the archaic age in the education of Athenian citizens.

³⁰ Paus. 1.29.14.

³¹ Plut. *Cim.* 8.3–6; *Thes.* 36. On the topic cf. Di Cesare 2015: 77–81, 218.

³² Probably it was imposed by the law *post aliquanto* [*Solonem*] recorded by Cicero, *Leg.* 2.26.64–5. The debate on the topic is summarized by Marchiandi 2011: 25–9.

We have just assumed that the duty of the citizen was to serve the *polis* until the supreme sacrifice of his life.³³ Therefore, the road on which the Athenian youths usually walked to reach the main place of their citizen's training was a very appropriate place for the monuments that commemorated the fallen soldiers. The Athenian *neoi* were practically 'accompanied' in their walk by a sort of gallery of heroes: more or less close in time, famous or more often totally unknown and nameless, the casualties were examples to look at, to point out to each other along the way, to remember and, if necessary, to emulate, as models with which everyone could easily identify.

Now, the fundamental ideological value of the Academy in the *paid-eia* of Athenian citizens took shape during the sixth century, probably as a result of a specific initiative of the tyrants. The topic has been the subject of a previous contribution.³⁴ For obvious reasons, I cannot discuss here the individual arguments in detail. I will just recall the main points.

I begin with the dossier concerning the literary and archaeological evidence. The existence of a monumental phase of the sixth century at the Academy is suggested by a series of relevant indicators. Although the ancient tradition is generally reluctant to attribute the monuments to the tyrants, the sources register at least two interventions at the Academy which date back to Peisistratus and his sons. Pausanias mentions an altar of Eros placed in front of the entrance of the Academy and dedicated by Charmus, a man who was very close to Peisistratus.³⁵ The sources identify him as an *erōmenos* of Peisistratus and as *erastēs* of the young Hippias, to whom he later gave his daughter in marriage.³⁶ Their kinship is proved by the existence, in the next generation, of an Hipparchus son of Charmus, known as the first Athenian to be ostracized in 487/6.³⁷

Athenaeus, who relies on the Attidographer Cleidemus, quotes at length two verses of the dedicatory epigram of Charmus: Πολυμήχαν' Ἔρως σοὶ τόνδ' ἰδρύσατο βωμὸν / Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου ('Eros of many wiles – Charmus had this altar constructed for

³³ Military service occupies the first place in the list of duties of the Athenian citizen drafted by Ober 2001: 182. In general, on the importance of military service see: Bürckhardt 1996. Citizens who tried to avoid it were considered as very negative models: Christ 2006.

³⁴ Marchiandi 2004; cf. Marchiandi 2014b.

³⁵ Paus. 1.30.1; on the possible reconstruction of the altar see Marchiandi 2004: 14–18.

³⁶ Plut. *Sol.* 1.7 (*erōmenos* of Peisistratus); Ath. 13.609c–d (*erastēs* and father-in-law of Hippias). On Charmus see *PAA* 988430.

³⁷ *PAA* 537705.

you at the shady edge of the park').³⁸ This text provides some insight into the appearance of the archaic gymnasium, where sports facilities were scattered in the shade of the trees.³⁹ The mentioned *termata*, in particular, may simply refer to the running-tracks. Indeed, these pillars were the usual turning points in the running events and, as such, they are generally omnipresent in vase imagery of the gymnasium.⁴⁰

It is only Plutarch who mentions a statue (ἄγαλμα) of Eros dedicated by Peisistratus⁴¹ instead of an altar of Eros (βωμός) dedicated by Charmus. It is therefore possible that there were two votive offerings, more or less contemporary. In this case, they served the same ideological programme, focused on Eros and the values related to the god in the gymnasium. I revert to this point below.

For the next generation, the paroemiographic tradition preserves a proverb connected to a Ἰππάρχου τειχίον, that is a wall that Hipparchus, the son of Peisistratus, built around the Academy (περὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν).⁴² The work was so expensive that it required the imposition of a special fee. Nevertheless, it was never finished, and so became the symbol of extreme and unnecessary expense. Despite the doubts cast by some scholars I do not think there are any compelling reasons to doubt this tradition.⁴³ It seems very likely, given Charmus' altar and Peisistratus' statue, that Hipparchus completed what was begun in the previous generation, by constructing a *peribolos* to enclose a very large area (hence the considerable expense). The project would fit perfectly well into the overall picture of Hipparchus' life and works. By establishing the Homeric poems as part of the Panathenaic games⁴⁴ and by inscribing timeless, quasi-Delphic maxims on the herms scattered along the roads of Attica,

³⁸ Cleidemus FGrHist 323 F 15 *ap.* Ath. 13.609c–d. Some scholars attribute this passage to the Attidographer Anticleides: FGrHist 140 F 6; cf. Jacoby, FGrHist IIIb (Suppl.), Komm., 60–1. At any rate, the epigram is considered authentic. The quoted translation is by S. D. Olson (Loeb edition 2011). The text provides the earliest evidence of the presence of Eros in the gymnasia; in general, on this topic see: Aneziri and Damaskos 2004: 253–4; Trombetti 2006: 47–9.

³⁹ Still in the fifth century running-tracks and shade-giving trees were the main facilities of the gymnasium, as a lost play of Eupolis shows: ἐν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Ἐκαδήμου θεοῦ (PCG V.36 *ap.* D.L. 3.7).

⁴⁰ Golden 2004, 162 *s.v.* *terma*; cf. in more detail Lee 1976. As far as vase imagery is concerned, see e.g. the frequency of *termata* in athletic scenes by the Codrus Painter and his circle: Avramidou 2011: 61–5, with plates 43 a–c, 46a, 52b, 53b, 54a, 55b, 64, 69.

⁴¹ Plut. *Sol.* 1.4.

⁴² Suid. *s.v.* τὸ Ἰππάρχου τειχίον; *Codex Bodleianus s.v.* Ἰππάρχου τειχίον; Gregory of Cyprus, *s.v.* τὸ Ἰππάρχου τειχίον; Apostolios, *s.v.* τὸ Ἰππάρχου τειχίον.

⁴³ *Contra* Lynch 1984. This tradition is unequivocally attested by the *Codex Bodleianus* (*s.v.* Ἰππάρχου τειχίον), a late collection of proverbs probably depending on Alexandrian writers, and by the *Suda* (*s.v.* τὸ Ἰππάρχου τειχίον). Only in late echoes does it appear distorted by the arbitrary displacement of Hipparchus' wall at the *Pythion* (παρὰ τὴν Πυθίαν): Gregory of Cyprus *s.v.* τὸ Ἰππάρχου τειχίον; Apostolios, *s.v.* τὸ Ἰππάρχου τειχίον.

⁴⁴ Pl. *Hipparch.* 228b; cf. Shapiro 1993 and 1995; Slings 2000: 67–70.

he consciously sought to educate the Athenians.⁴⁵ The pseudo-Platonic dialogue is very explicit in attributing to Hipparchus a pedagogical purpose (παίδευσιν).⁴⁶

Now, the archaeological evidence supporting this literary tradition is meagre, but not entirely irrelevant.⁴⁷ The most crucial finding is a *hópos τῆς ἑκαδευμείας* discovered *in situ* by Olga Alexandri in 1966 on the edge of an ancient road.⁴⁸ The palaeography dates it to the end of the sixth century, when the only other known Athenian *horoi* are those discovered in the Agora.⁴⁹ The two series present undeniable similarities in letter-forms. So they share also the chronological uncertainty which is a persistent feature of Athenian archaeology of the late sixth century, especially in the Agora.⁵⁰ The Agora *horoi* are generally associated with the Cleisthenic phase, but more on ideological than on an objective basis. The lettering criterion, in fact, does not exclude the possibility that they antedate the historic watershed of 510 BC and that they could refer to the Peisistratid arrangement of the area, as formerly claimed by some authoritative scholars.⁵¹ The same fate concerns the Academy *horos*. Certainly an early dating would be consistent with the literary tradition concerning Charmus' and Peisistratus' Eros and Hipparchus' wall. The hypothesis that the north-western suburban area knew intense building activity in the age of the tyrants would then be strengthened. Conversely, arguing against a later chronology, it is worth noting that the tradition does not preserve any mention of a Cleisthenic interest in the Academy. We have to wait until the Cimonian age to find in the sources the notice of a planned intervention in the north-western suburbs.⁵²

⁴⁵ Pl. *Hipparch.* 228c–229b; Hsch. *s.v.* Ἱππάρχειος Ἐρμῆς; Harp. and Suid. *s.v.* Ἐρμῆς; cf. *JG P* 1023. *Inter alia* see Rückert 1998: 57–67 and Counts 1999.

⁴⁶ Pl. *Hipparch.* 228c–d.

⁴⁷ I omit Hipparchos' wall (see n. 42, 43 above). At least two proposals of identification have been advanced, but none of them is convincing. Only future research will definitively close the question. Cf. Billot 1989: 709–14; Marchiandi 2004: 13–14, 25–8; Caruso 2013, 65–6; Marchiandi 2014h.

⁴⁸ *JG P* 1091 = Ritchie 1984, 10–14 (TA 1) and 709–11; cf. Alexandri 1968a. Travlos 1971: 318 fig. 417 claims that the *horos* marked a boundary of the Academy *peribolos*. More recent discoveries, however, compel us to review the reconstruction proposed by this scholar.

⁴⁹ *JG P* 1087 (c.500) and 1088 (c.500) = *Agora* 19.27, H 25/26 (c.500) = Ritchie 1984: 15–27 (TA 2) and 27–31 (TA 4) (510–490); cf. Ritchie 1984: 711–18; *Agora* 19.10–11; Ober 1995: 91–6; Longo 2007: 132.

⁵⁰ On this topic see Longo 2007 and 2014: 864–73.

⁵¹ See e.g. Martin 1974²: 87.

⁵² Plut. *Cim.* 13.7: '[...] by converting the Academy from a waterless and arid spot into a well watered grove, which he provided with clear running-tracks and shady walks' (transl. B. Perrin, Loeb edition 1968); in general cf. Marchiandi 2014b and Di Cesare 2015: 233–46. On the Cimonian aqueduct see Monaco 2004; Marchiandi 2014i; Di Cesare 2015: 230–3. On a herm that was placed at the Academy probably in the Cimonian period see: *Anth. Pal.* 6.144; cf. Müller 2007 (= 2009); Petrovic 2007: 132–43.

Furthermore, there is other evidence which indicates the presence of buildings constructed with considerable effort and expenditure at the Academy in the second half of the sixth century. I refer to a number of *poros* blocks reused in the structures of the so-called Gymnasium and in its later annexes, but also to three antefixes and to a fragment of a painted clay slab, found in the thirties to the west of the Square Peristyle.⁵³ These *poros* blocks prove the existence of a monumental building (or buildings), whose exact location and plan remain unknown.⁵⁴ The antefixes belong to a well-known class of Attic production. Notably they found many close parallels in the finds from the Acropolis excavations.⁵⁵ The date, originally fixed immediately after the mid sixth century (c.550–540), has recently been lowered to 510–500 BC.

The size of the clay slab compels us to claim that this was a metope.⁵⁶ The style of the representation seems to indicate a chronology a bit earlier in the second half of the sixth century. Again, as regards the typology and technique, it finds close parallels in the Acropolis materials. The scene depicts a male figure walking to the right. He holds with his right hand an animal that can be variously identified as a small deer or a hare. Both refer not to the proper hunt, but rather to what Alain Schnapp calls the ‘urban hunt’.⁵⁷ It is focused on small game and often used cunning. Therefore it lends itself as an easy metaphor for courtship. The prey is not meant to be eaten but is a trophy to be offered in the ritual of seduction within the homophile relationship, whose natural setting was the gymnasium.⁵⁸ Clearly this is the same background in which the presence of Eros is rooted.

Finally, a herm found at the so-called Gymnasium is no less interesting.⁵⁹ On the basis of stylistic considerations it is dated to the end of the sixth century. Once more, there are significant correspondences with the materials from the Acropolis excavations and, especially, with a herm

⁵³ On the topography of the archaeological remains at the Academy see: Travlos 1971: 42–51; Murray 2006; Caruso 2013: 65–82; Panayiotopoulos and Chatziefthimiou and Lygouri-Tolia in this volume; for the two main buildings, cf. Marchiandi 2014j and Caruso 2014.

⁵⁴ Caruso 2013: 67–8.

⁵⁵ Marchiandi 2004: 29, fig. 8 (with previous bibliography).

⁵⁶ Marchiandi 2004: 29–33, fig. 12 (with previous bibliography).

⁵⁷ Schnapp 1997.

⁵⁸ The fact that the gymnasium was a privileged setting for relationships between *erastai* and *erōmenoi* underlies the whole bibliography on Greek pederasty; see, *inter alia*, some milestones: Bouffière 1980 (in particular pp. 561–72), Dover 1978; Scanlon 2002. At Thera, for example, several pederastic graffiti found in the archaic gymnasium are a very eloquent testimony: see Inglese 2008: 217–29 (nos. 29, 30, 31); for the context cf. Trombetti 2013: 141–5.

⁵⁹ Marchiandi 2004: 33–7, fig. 13 (with previous bibliography).

from the Agora. It is worth remembering that in the same period this sculptural type was used for some important dedications known only from the literary tradition: the herm Proclides dedicated, an otherwise unknown *erastēs* of Hipparchus; and the more famous herms the same Hipparchus put up along the Attic roads.⁶⁰

Given this literary and topographical evidence, I think that there are significant clues to suggest that, in addition to Eros, many of the cults attested at the Academy in the classical age and later go back to the archaic period. They are part of a more general programme promoted in the epoch of the tyrants which aimed at making the gymnasium of the Academy the focus of the education of the Athenian elite.⁶¹

In general, our main guide remains Pausanias, although other sources contribute to clarify some points.⁶² After the altar of Charmus, situated 'before the entrance to the Academy' (πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας), the periegete mentions an altar of Prometheus, located 'in the Academy' (ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ), then an altar of the Muses and another of Hermes and finally, 'inside' (ἐνδον), an altar of Athena, another of Heracles and, in the same place, an olive tree (the second which appeared in Attica, according to the tradition).

I would start from the latter cult complex: by virtue of its location too, it appears to be the real heart of the system. It comprises the poliadic deity, Athena, the hero Heracles and an ancient and venerable olive tree.

The olive of the Academy is mentioned also in the chorus of Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*.⁶³ Here it is described as the 'green olive that feeds the children' (*paidotrophos*), 'the wild tree indestructible, a terror to the spears of enemies', which beautifully blooms under the ever-seeing eye of Zeus Morios and Athena Glaukopis. In the same period, the *Clouds* of Aristophanes confirms the presence of a number of sacred olive trees called *Moriai* in the luxuriant vegetation of the Academy.⁶⁴ According to the lexicographic sources, they were twelve in origin and derived directly by transplantation from the sacred olive of the Acropolis,

⁶⁰ On Proclides' herm: Suid. *s.v.* τρικέφαλος; Harp. *s.v.* τρικέφαλος ὁ Ἡρμῆς; *EM* and Phot. *s.v.* τρικέφαλος; cf. Marchiandi 2004: 34, n. 153 (with previous bibliography); on Proclides cf. *PAA* 788645. On Hipparchus' herms see n. 45 above. I remember in addition the discovery in 1972, at a short distance from the Academy *horos*, of a late archaic relief with Hermes *kriophoros*: *Arch.Delt.* 27, 1972, B', 88; cf. Panayiotopoulos and Chatziefthimiou in this volume.

⁶¹ Recently, on the cults observed in the gymnasia see: Aneziri and Damaskos 2004; Trombetti 2006 and 2013.

⁶² Paus. 1.30.1–2.

⁶³ S. *OC* 694–705.

⁶⁴ Ar. *Nu.* 1005–8.

i.e. the tree miraculously given birth by Athena during the contest with Poseidon for the possession of Attica.⁶⁵ According to the Aristotelian *Athenian Constitution*, the oil given as a prize to the winners of the Panathenaic festival was drawn from the *morai* and was contained in large terracotta amphorae.⁶⁶ These are the so-called Panathenaic Amphorae, a specific shape of vessels, of which many examples are known.⁶⁷ The start of their production dates the *morai* at least to the first half of the sixth century.⁶⁸

It is clear, at this point, that the *morai* played an essential role in civic ideology. Due to this, a specific administrative procedure was conceived for their management. In particular, in order to protect them, the worship of Athena Polias was ‘transplanted’ ad hoc from the Acropolis, as was the branch of the first Attic olive. In the archaic age the harvest was probably ritualized, as pointed out by some vase representations, in which the men are naked and crowned.⁶⁹ Sometimes Athena herself oversees the operations.⁷⁰

The articulation and the complexity of the system constructed to preserve the *morai* is also demonstrated by the presence of Zeus at the Academy. He is mentioned with the telling epithet *Morios* only by Sophocles, but in this same capacity the god was included among the divinities recipient of sacrifices in the Athenian sacrificial calendar from the late fifth century.⁷¹ There is no question that his presence at the Academy has to be explained in the light of the god’s connection with the rain. The ancient sources consider Zeus *Morios* as a variant of Zeus *Kataibates*, ‘who sends down lightning or rain’.⁷² Therefore, he is strictly related to the survival of the sacred trees. It is notable that a *horos* [Δ]ιὸς Παρνησίου which can be dated to the first half of the fifth century

⁶⁵ Phot. *s.v.* Μορίαί ἑλαιαί; Suid. *s.v.* Μορίαί; schol. S. OC 701; schol. Ar. Nu. 1005 a–b; EM *s.v.* Μορίαί; Apostol. *s.v.* Μοριῶν μὴ θίγγαναι. On the *morai* in general see: Shear 2003, 98–102; Horster 2006; Papazarkadas 2011: 260–84. Specifically on the olive planted by Athena on the sacred rock see: Hdt. 8.55; Pollux, 9.17; Hsch. *s.v.* ἀστὴ ἑλαιαί; cf. Detienne 1973.

⁶⁶ [Arist.] *Ath.* 60.

⁶⁷ On the Panathenaic Amphorae in general see: Neils 1992b; Bentz 1998; Bentz and Eschbach 2001; Tiverios 2007; Johnston 2007.

⁶⁸ On the start of the production of Panathenaic Amphorae see: Neils 2007: 46–9; Tiverios 2007. This chronology is consistent with 566/5, the date of the establishment of the Panathenaea according to the ancient tradition, which is today unanimously considered reliable.

⁶⁹ Detienne 1973: 296 and n. 3.

⁷⁰ See e.g. an amphora from Trachones, now conserved in the Museum of Piraeus: ARV² 1154, 38 bis; cf. Themelis 2007: 21–3; Papazarkadas 2011: 277–8. Here the measurement(?) of the oil produced by the *morai* takes place under the watchful eye of Athena.

⁷¹ S. OC 705; cf. SEG 52.48, face a, fr. 12, ll. 8–9, with Lambert 2002: 385.

⁷² Schol. S. OC 705; cf. Billot 1989: 739–40; Marchiandi 2004: 43–4.

(c.480–460) was found out of place in the area of the Academy.⁷³ With the equivalent epithet of Παρνήσιος the god was Ombrios on the top of Mount Parnitha.⁷⁴

Next to Athena, Heracles is the hero of the *athla*. Founder of Pan-Hellenic games and archetype of the athlete, he was a perfect model in the citizen's training, mainly but not only in the military field.⁷⁵ In the mirror of the myth the labours of Heracles are nothing less than the prototype of the several tests that the citizen had to face during his *paid-eia*.⁷⁶ This interpretative key can help to explain, for example, the strong preference among potters for the fight against the Nemean lion.⁷⁷ The episode is represented in four different iconographic versions, all of them related to the gripping techniques employed in real fights in the *palaist-rai*. Within this 'educational' framework, we can also understand the strange iconography of the musician Heracles, widespread on Attic vases from 530 BC onwards.⁷⁸ The scene, which does not correspond with myth, seems to be a direct reflection of the growing importance of *mousikē* in the citizen's training.⁷⁹ From this perspective, we may easily understand the special place reserved for the hero in the heart of the gymnasium pantheon, next to the goddess Polias, who oversees the olive trees and, especially, the training of Athenian citizens.

We should probably also envisage the presence of Hermes with the Muses at the Academy (in a relatively unusual association, but well established in Attica from the first half of the sixth century) from a pedagogical perspective.⁸⁰ So a second strand in the training of citizens seems to emerge, which is complementary to that chaired by Heracles in the inner part of the *temenos*: along with the *gymnastikē*, the *mousikē* was the second pillar of the *archaia paideia*.⁸¹ The Muses, as daughters of

⁷³ *Arch.Delt.* 22, 1967, 56; Kalogeropoulou 1984; cf. Ritchie 1984, 543 (TA 113) = *IG I³* 1057 bis.

⁷⁴ Paus. 1.32.2; cf. Travlos 1988: 319–20.

⁷⁵ On Heracles as founder of Pan-Hellenic games: Angeli Bernardini 1991. On Heracles as model athlete: Wiseman 2000. On the traditional interpretation of the hero's presence in the gymnasium see *inter alia*: Wacker 1996: 79–120; Aneziri and Damaskos 2004: 248–51; cf. Trombetti 2013: 163–5.

⁷⁶ Marchiandi 2004: 44–7 (with previous bibliography); in this perspective cf. Trombetti 2006: 50–3.

⁷⁷ Boardman et al. 1990: 16–34.

⁷⁸ On the musician Heracles: Boardman et al. 1988, 810–17; Goulaki Voutira 1992.

⁷⁹ See n. 81 below.

⁸⁰ In general, on the traditional interpretation of Hermes' presence in the gymnasia (*agōnios*, *enagōnios*, *epiternios*) see: Aneziri and Damaskos 2004: 248–51 and Allen 2004; cf. Trombetti 2013: 163–5. On the cult of Muses in the gymnasia: Aneziri and Damaskos 2004: 252–3. In a broader perspective, on the association of the two divinities, see Marchiandi 2004: 47–51 (with previous bibliography).

⁸¹ In Plato's words, gymnastics educates the body, just as music educates the mind: *Pl. R.* 376e; cf. Lefka 2003: 107–8. On the topic see *inter alia*: Marrou 1965: 80–1; Musti 2000; Beschi 2003; Murray and Wilson 2004.

Mnemosyne or Memory, were endowed with infallible knowledge and profound wisdom: clearly they are the more appropriate deities to sponsor the cultural education of citizens, focused primarily on poetry.⁸² At this point, it is worth remembering Hipparchus' portrait in Pseudo-Aristotle's words: the tyrant was *paidiōdēs* and *erōtikos*, but first of all *philomousos*.⁸³ As a consequence of these inclinations he gathered at Athens some of the greatest poets of his age, Simonides and Anacreon for instance, and chose the herms as support for the mottos by which he intended to educate the inhabitants of the countryside.⁸⁴

The last place of worship mentioned by Pausanias is an altar of Prometheus, from where the *lampadēdromia* started 'toward the city' (πρὸς τὴν πόλιν). The periegete does not specify which *lampadēdromia* this was, of the three that in the classical age took place between the Academy and Athens, namely, during the Panathenaic festival, the Hephaestea and the Prometheia.⁸⁵ It is possible, here, that he is referring to the torch race of the Great Panathenaea, surely the *lampas* par excellence in the collective consciousness of the Athenians. It was a relay race in which ten tribal teams competed but it was not a contest like any other. Rather, it was a sort of final examination that concluded the training of young citizens and marked their entry into the civic body. Aristophanes, in the *Frogs*, is quite explicit in pointing out that this was a sort of test.⁸⁶ Not surprisingly, the race took place on the night that preceded the climax of the festival, the *pompē* and the delivery of the *peplos* to Athena on the twenty-eighth day of the month Hekatombaion.⁸⁷ Specifically, the *lampadēdromia* concluded the day of two other tribal contests in which the young Athenians were tested, the *euandria* and the *pyrrichē*.⁸⁸ At the same time, the *lampadēdromia* opened the *pannychis*, the night on which the performances of young girls were concentrated.⁸⁹ Moreover, it is worth noting that the prize awarded for this competition was not constituted by the usual Panathenaic Amphorae filled with olive oil. Instead, 'a bull and one hundred drachmas' were offered to the

⁸² Bouvier 1997; Murray 2004.

⁸³ [Arist.] *Ath.* 18.1; cf. Pl. *Hipparch.* 228b–c.

⁸⁴ See n. 45 above.

⁸⁵ On the *lampadēdromia* see recently: Bentz 2007 and Ruggieri 2013: 224–7; cf. Marchiandi 2004: 53–63 (with previous bibliography).

⁸⁶ Ar. *Ra.* 1087–8.

⁸⁷ The Panathenaic programme is reconstructed mostly on the basis of a fragmentary inscribed prize-list from the fourth century: *IG* II² 2311 = *SEG* 53.192; cf. Neils 1992a: 15–17.

⁸⁸ On the *euandria*: Boegehold 1996, 97–103. On the *pyrrichē*: Ceccarelli 2004.

⁸⁹ Ancient sources and bibliography on the *pannychis* are summarized by Marchiandi 2004: 58–9.

winning tribe and ‘a *hydria* and thirty drachmas’ to the individual victor. We learn this from an inscription of the fourth century and from some vase images, in which a water jar appears at the end of the race, i.e. at the altar of Athena Polias on the Acropolis.⁹⁰

If the goal of the race is certain, however, let us return to the starting point, which Pausanias identified with the altar of Prometheus. There are several reasons to think that the cult of Prometheus at the Academy, at an altar shared with Hephaestus, was added in the fifth century to the pre-existing pantheon.⁹¹ It is probably connected to the foundation of the Hephaesteia in the second quarter of the century.

By contrast, the tradition preserves the memory of an original, different point of departure for the Panathenaic *lampadēdromia*: the altar of Eros. The sources are late, but the *lectio* is largely *difficilior* and is therefore likely to be the truth.⁹² So I revert to Eros, my starting point, and conclude.

The link between Eros and the fire of the *lampas* is puzzling and has not been fully understood by scholars, who have mostly excised the reference.⁹³ Following Pausanias, they consider the altar of Prometheus, the benevolent god who stole fire from the gods and gave it to men, as a much more suitable starting point for a torch race.⁹⁴ Athenaeus, however, offers us a fundamental piece of evidence to explain the presence of Eros at the Academy.⁹⁵ He depends on earlier sources, classical and Hellenistic: a lost tragedy written by Euripides, in which Eros is defined as the παῖδευμα of σοφία and ἀρετή;⁹⁶ and the *Politeia* drafted by Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoic school, where the god is considered as a prerequisite (παράσκευαστικόν) to φιλία, ὁμόνοια and ἐλευθερία. In this perspective, Zeno indicates Eros as the deity who most contributes (συνεργός) to the salvation of the *polis*.⁹⁷ Several examples clarify the concept: the Lacedaemonians sacrificed to the god before battle, since

⁹⁰ *IG* II² 2311, ll. 76–7 = *SEG* 53.192. Among vessels, see e.g. a *kratēr* from Spina (*ARV*² 1171, 1) and another one from Gela (*ARV*² 1041, 10); cf. Marchiandi 2004: 54–5.

⁹¹ Marchiandi 2004: 51–63 (with previous bibliography). In general, on the cult of Prometheus at Athens see now: Dougherty 2006: 46–65.

⁹² Plut. *Sol.* 1.7; Hermias, in *Phdr.* 231e.

⁹³ Among the rare exceptions see: Scanlon 2002: 255–64 and, more recently, Zografou 2010, who however, at least in my opinion, does not give adequate prominence to the homophile value of the link between Eros and the fire. The debate is summarized by Marchiandi 2004: 60–1.

⁹⁴ See e.g. Dougherty 2006: 53–5.

⁹⁵ Athenaeus, 13, 561–2. Moreover see *ibid.* 601e–602d, where some famous couples of tyrannicides are listed; cf. Bouffière 1980: 107–21.

⁹⁶ E. fr. 897 Nauck².

⁹⁷ Fr. 263, *SVFI* p. 61 = 67D Long–Sedley.

they were persuaded that the victory and salvation depended on the *philia* among the men deployed, and the Theban Sacred Band was famously composed of pairs of *erastai* and *erōmenoi*.⁹⁸ Athenaeus' comment is enlightening: 'The Athenians were so far from believing that Eros represents sexuality of any kind that, even though the Academy was explicitly dedicated to Athena, they established a cult of Eros there and sacrifice to him as well.'⁹⁹

Surprisingly, the picture is perfectly consistent with Plato's *Symposium*: Eros creates bonds of friendship (φιλία) and society (κοινωνία) between men, encouraging them to achieve great things on the battlefield.¹⁰⁰

This homophile Eros, instigator of warlike virtues, was seen as the cohesive strength of the armies and was therefore an ideal patron of the military training of the citizens in the gymnasium. Clearly this is not the tender child Eros, son of Aphrodite, but rather an adolescent, ephebic Eros.¹⁰¹ The archaic age offers many portraits of him, both in the vase imagery and in some votive specimens that certainly would deserve more attention.¹⁰² In particular, on the vessels, he is represented as performing the same activities as the youths in the gymnasia, including the *lampadēdromia*, and it is only the wings that allow us to distinguish the god from the mortals.¹⁰³

Clearly this is a fully 'political' Eros. His altar is not a private dedication, occasioned by a contingent *liaison*, even if among 'VIPs' such as Peisistratus and Charmus or Charmus and Hippias. The monument is a programmatic manifesto; it is a tribute to the force on which the aggregation of the Athenian elite was founded. The altar of this Eros is then as good a starting point for such tests as the *lampadēdromia*. The young competitors brought the fire of the altar of Eros, an image of the ardour that the god has fed into their hearts, to the altar of the goddess Polias on the Acropolis. Here this fire symbolically constituted the foundation of the complex ideological system upon which the social order of the *polis* and its very survival were based.

⁹⁸ On *paidika* at Sparta see: Dover 1978: 185–96; Bouffière 1980: 65–88; Vattuone 2004. On the Theban Sacred Band see: Dover 1978: 192; Bouffière 1980: 95–101.

⁹⁹ Athenaeus, 13.561d–e; quoted translation is by S. Douglas Olson (Loeb edition 2010).

¹⁰⁰ Pl. *Smp. passim*, in particular 178e–179a and 182c; cf. Dover 1978: 153–70; Bouffière 1980: 391–434; Reeve 2006. Moreover, in a perspective very similar to that expressed by Athenaeus, see another pupil of Socrates: Xen. *Smp.* 8.32–5; cf. Hindley 1994.

¹⁰¹ Hermay, Cassimatis and Vollkommer 1986, *passim*; Scanlon 2002; Pellegrini 2009, *passim*.

¹⁰² Marchiandi 2004: 18–20; Pellegrini 2009: 210, 482 (cat. 2078, 2079).

¹⁰³ Pellegrini 2009: 84–101, 212.

Surprisingly, this world finds its most perfect and consistent representation in the Platonic dialogues, several decades after it had ceased to inspire the repertoire of the Athenian potters.

The topography of the Academy and its past history can thus offer an important starting point to understand, at least in my opinion, what it was that in 387 BC guided Plato and his followers into the north-western suburbs of Athens.

Observations on the Topography of Ancient Academia

*Manolis Panayiotopoulos and Tania Chatziefthimiou**

3.1 Introduction

The abolishment of Plato's Academy (attributed to Emperor Justinian in 529)¹ imposed silence on a school which for more than nine centuries produced ideas that influenced and, to some extent, determined the natural sciences and philosophical and political thought.

The area where the Academy was located appears on travellers' maps of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, mostly as a symbolic positioning rather than as the actual imprint of the historic site,² since, at the time, there was no evidence of ancient monuments at those locations (Fig. 3.1). Part of this area was known to the Athenians of the nineteenth century as Καθήμεια (Kathimeia), which may be an alteration of the ancient word Ακαδήμεια.³

The area now called 'Plato's Academy' is located in the western part of the municipality of Athens. It was formerly part of Elaionas ('olive grove'), an area along the Cephissus River, the course of which ran farther south in ancient times. The existence of the Cephissus River has defined the geology of the area since antiquity. Dense clay and sand deposits

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών
<i>Arch.Delt.</i>	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
<i>Arch.Eph.</i>	Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
<i>Praktika</i>	Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
ΠΑΑ	Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών

¹ Lemerle 1985: 66–70; Ostrogorsky 1978–81: A, 143; *Codex Justinianus* 1.11.10; Malalas, 17; Westerink 1962: xii–xv.

² Barbié du Bocage 1788.

³ In 1908 the area was officially renamed as 'Plato's Academy' (*ΣΚΡΠΠ* newspaper, issue from 7 June 1908).

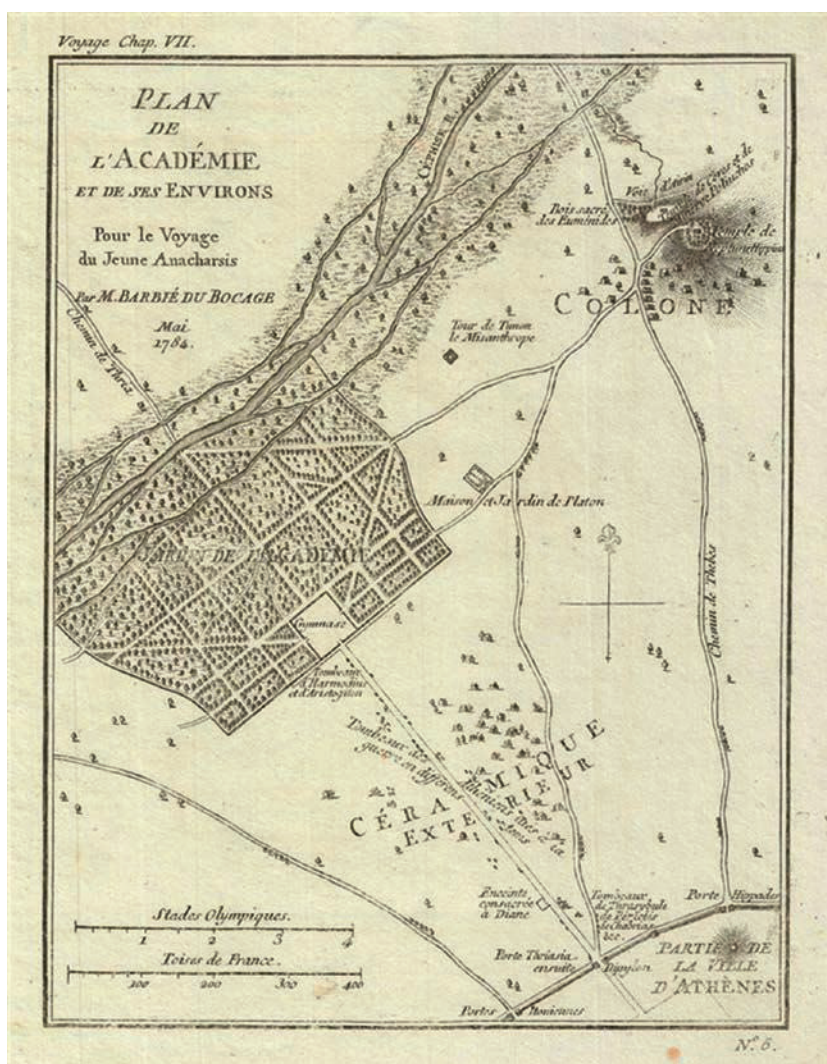


Fig. 3.1 Imaginary plan of Plato's Academy. Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, *Pour le voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* (1788).

alternate with layers of gravel, of a total thickness often exceeding 10 m, while shale and limestone rock is found at a depth of more than 20 m.⁴

The name 'Academy' derives from the mythical hero Academus,⁵ who helped the Dioscuri to find their sister Helen, after she was abducted by Theseus. In exchange for his help, this place was offered to Academus. Because of this connection, Academus' *temenos* was respected by the Spartans when they invaded Attica.⁶ The word 'Academy' (or *Akadēmeia*) in ancient sources refers either to the gymnasium or to the garden of Plato. Occasionally it refers to the suburb between the Cephissus River, Ceramicus and the hill of Hippius Colonus.⁷

Archaeologist Panayiotis Kastriotis was the first who attempted to locate the ancient Academy,⁸ by conducting exploratory sections on the hill of Hippius Colonus in 1908. In the late 1920s the Egyptian Greek P. Z. Aristophron also sought to discover Plato's Academy. He funded the modern Academy of Athens and its member Konstantinos Kourouniotis to perform excavations following the lead of ancient sources in the search for Plato's Academy. The latter reported that the modern Academy of Athens considered this task as its duty, to seek the cradle, the birthplace, of the Academies.⁹

In 1931, the first excavations in the area revealed part of the ancient road that connected the city to the Academy.¹⁰ Further north, architectural remains of a large (40 x 40 m) columned building were revealed, the so-called 'Square Peristyle', which date to the fourth or third century BC.¹¹ The function and the architectural form of the building are uncertain. However, it was interpreted as associated to the Academy's gymnasium installations.¹²

⁴ These geological features influenced the human activity in this area. This is evident in the presence of several ancient pottery workshops that have been excavated here. Even three decades ago, clay quarrying was taking place in the area to supply several local modern ceramic factories. Additionally, ancient written sources comment on the fertility of the soil as a result of the Cephissus River.

⁵ Ar. Eup. fr. 32; Ar. Nu. 1005; D.L. 3.7.

⁶ Plut. Thes. 32; D.S. 13.107.

⁷ D.L. 3.7, 4.1; Paus. 1.29.2, 30.1; Plut. Sull. 12, Thes. 32, Cim. 13, Phoc. 4.14, Dio 14.52; Arat. 31; Suid. s.v. Σωκράτης. See also Konstantinides 1874: 3–4.

⁸ Arch.Eph. 1922: 89–100. He chose this location because of the antiquities visible in the Vlachos estate. Kastriotis identified the Christian churches in this region with ancient shrines: St Nicholas with the temple of Poseidon, the Crucified Christ with that of Prometheus, etc.

⁹ ΠΑΑ 1930: 420.

¹⁰ ΠΑΑ 1933: 243–8.

¹¹ Arch.Delt. 35 (1980), Chron. B1, 41.

¹² ΠΑΑ 1933: 245.

Excavations were interrupted by World War II and the death of Aristophron in 1944, but continued in the period between 1955 and 1963 through the Archaeological Society at Athens, under the direction of Phoebus Stavropoulos.¹³ Stavropoulos excavated a building of the early Helladic period, a geometric construction, called the 'Sacred House', and part of a cemetery of the same period. After this, excavation stopped, but the area was declared an Archaeological Site and priority was given to its expansion, protection and improvement.¹⁴

3.2 Prehistoric Period

There are only scant prehistoric remains within this region, mainly found in its northern part, near the riverbed (see Map 3.1). In 1956, during the excavations, an apsidal building was revealed by Stavropoulos. It had a stone foundation and a superstructure of mudbrick, dated to the early Helladic period (2,300–2,200 BC).¹⁵ This provides the earliest evidence for human habitation in the area.¹⁶ The early Helladic building was at the base of a low hill, which we can imagine as a favourable location for habitation in the prehistoric era.¹⁷

Archaeological evidence of this period is rare in this region and has been detected only in deeper layers, in floodplain deposits near the Cephissus.¹⁸

3.3 Geometric Period

The Geometric 'Sacred House' was found south of the early Helladic building (see Map 3.2).¹⁹ The building's foundations are made of river stones, and its superstructure of mudbricks. It comprised seven rooms where layers of pyres were revealed (Fig. 3.2).

¹³ *Praktika* 1955: 53–61; *Praktika* 1956: 45–54; *Praktika* 1958: 5–13; *Praktika* 1959: 8–11; *Praktika* 1960: 318–23; *Praktika* 1961: 5–13; *Praktika* 1962: 5–11; *Praktika* 1963: 5–28. See also *Arch.Delt.* 16 (1960), Chron. 33–5.

¹⁴ An area of about 130 acres has been expropriated and constitutes today the Archaeological Site of Plato's Academy. However, the lack of systematic excavations and the failure to identify the monuments known from ancient sources leave the questions raised on the area's history still open.

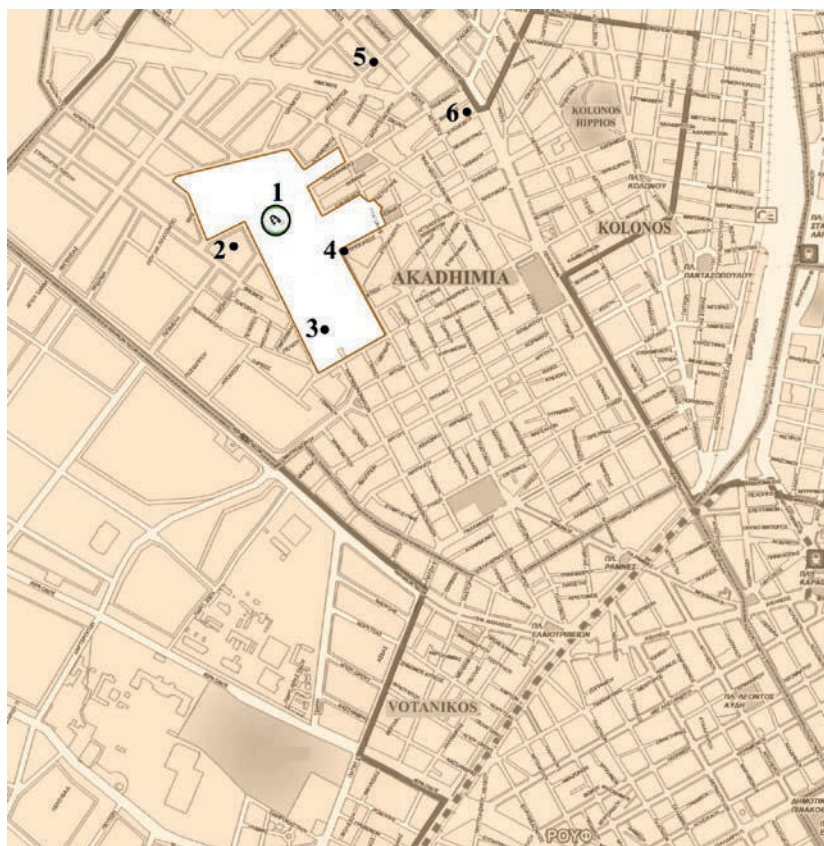
¹⁵ *Praktika* 1956: 53–4.

¹⁶ *Praktika* 1956: 54.

¹⁷ *Arch.Delt.* 16 (1960), Chron. 34.

¹⁸ Gymnasium area: *Arch.Delt.* 42 (1987), Chron. B1, 20–1. 62 Tripoleos St.: *Arch.Delt.* 40 (1985), Chron. B1, 33–4. Kreontos St.: *Arch.Delt.* 42 (1987), Chron. B1, 20. 7 Eukleidou St.: *Arch.Delt.* 49 (1994), Chron. B1, 42.

¹⁹ *Praktika* 1958: 5–13.



1. EH building.
2. 36 Faonos and Dionysou St.
3. The 'Gymnasium' area.
4. 62 Tripoleos St.
5. Kreontos St.
6. 7 Euphkleidou St.

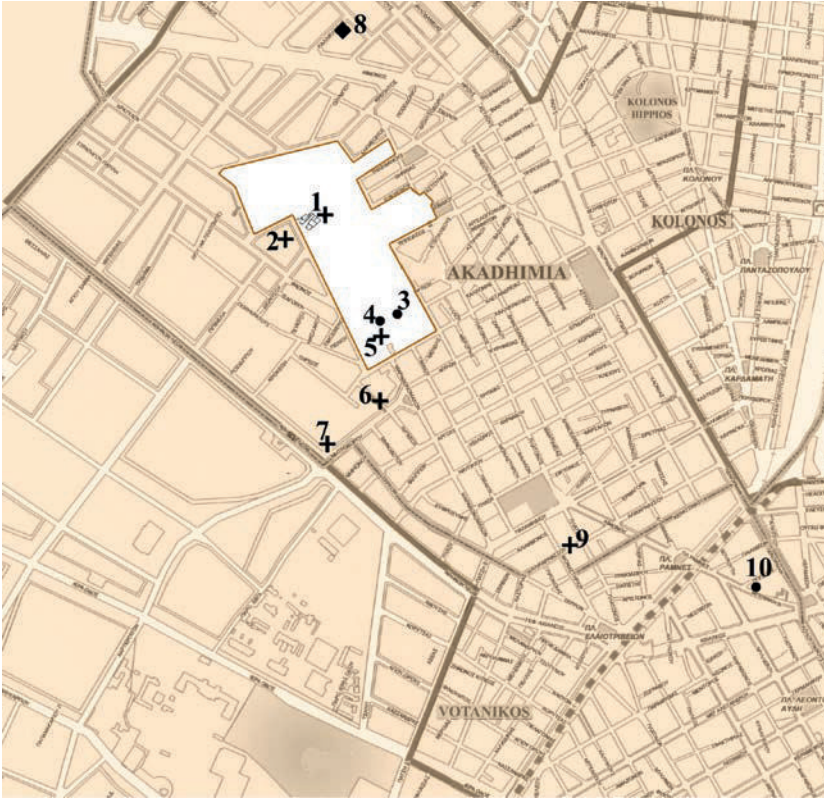
● POTTERY

Map 3.1 Prehistoric Period.

Due to these finds, and also because of the similarities with the Sacred House of Eleusis,²⁰ it was interpreted as a sacred place associated with the worship of Academus. In the same area, part of a geometric cemetery²¹

²⁰ *Praktika* 1937: 42–52.

²¹ *Praktika* 1958: 9–10.



1. The 'Sacred House'.
2. 36 Faonos and Dionysou St.
3. 73 Vassilikon and T. Lokrou St.
4. The 'Gymnasium' area.
5. The 'Gymnasium' area.
6. Mitrodorou and Geminou St.
7. 88 Athinon and Mitrodorou St.
8. Kallikleous St.
9. 82-88 Alikarnassou St.
10. 15-17 V. Benaki St.

- +** BURIAL/
CEMETERY
- POTTERY
- ◆** WORKSHOPS

Map 3.2 Geometric Period.

and a rich set of *kantharoi* from the early Geometric period were found, which would imply a ritual character for the building.²²

²² *Praktika* 1958: 8 κε., πιν. 6; Mazarakis-Ainian and Alexandridou 2011: 165-78.



Fig. 3.2 The 'Sacred House' and the prehistoric building.
Praktika 1958, pl. 2b.

Apart from the above, the archaeological evidence from the Geometric period is limited to a few sporadic graves found in the southern part of the region. Two burials of the eighth century BC, a pot burial and one funerary pyre belonged to the lower layers of a cemetery,²³ while individual late Geometric burials have been also found.²⁴

The only evidence of non-sacred or funerary activity is a deposit of burnt pots, which is possibly a part of a workshop.²⁵

Therefore, during the Geometric period, the only footprint of human establishment is the building of the 'Sacred House' and the sporadic burials. It is true that at this point we have no evidence from the river area; nevertheless, one must take into account the fragmentation of the archaeological evidence, and the continuous scraping of the ground.

²³ *Arch.Delt.* 33 (1978), Chron. B1, 24.

²⁴ *Arch.Delt.* 34 (1979), Chron. B1, 18; 40 (1985), Chron. B1, 31–2.

²⁵ *Arch.Delt.* 35 (1980), Chron. B1, 36.

3.4 Archaic Period

According to tradition, a dozen olive trees, scions of the Sacred Tree of Athena on the Acropolis, formed a Sacred Grove at the Academy.²⁶

In the sixth century BC, one of the three public gymnasia at Athens was founded at the Academy.²⁷ At the end of the same century, Hipparchus built a wall around the Academy,²⁸ known as the ‘Wall of Hipparchus’ (see Map 3.3).

There are also testimonies to the existence of altars dedicated to Athena, Prometheus, Hephaestus, Eros, the Muses, Hermes and Heracles.²⁹

None of these altars has been identified so far, despite the numerous excavations within this region. It appears that evidence earlier than the fifth century BC is scant, and, more importantly, there is a lack of any architectural remains. This, however, could be due to the fact that the greater part of the Archaeological Site has not been fully surveyed yet.

One of the most important finds on the topography of this area is an inscribed stone *horos* with the inscription Η]ΟΡΟΣ ΤΕΣ ΗΕΚΑΔΕΜΕΙΑΣ, that was found in 1966.³⁰ Based on the type of the letters, this inscription has been dated to the late sixth century BC. It was found *in situ*, facing east, adjacent to a road of the end of the sixth century BC.³¹ It must have been placed at an entrance to the ‘Sacred Grove’, probably the one which opened onto the road leading to the city (associated with the route to the Irion Gates), or to a street that connected the Academy to the Hippius Colonus hill.

It appears that in the late sixth century BC there was a need to set the boundaries of the ‘Sacred Grove’ of the Academy, by placing the *horos*

²⁶ Suid. *s.v.* Μορίαι. Paus. 1.30.2.

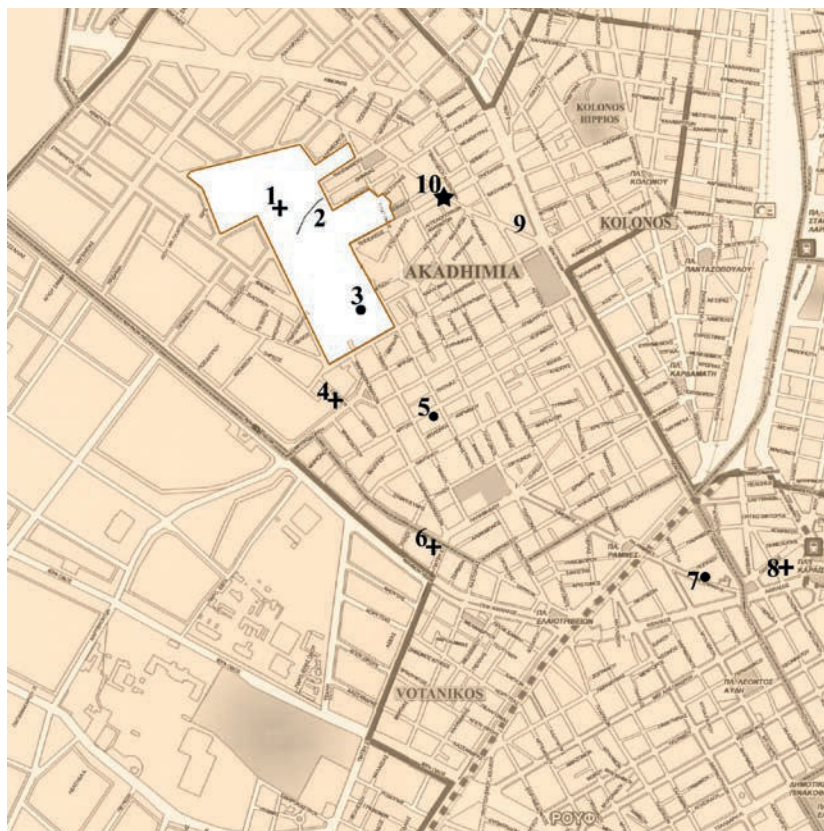
²⁷ Heraclides (sub auctore Dicaearcho), fr. 1.98.

²⁸ Suid. *s.v.* τὸ Ἰππάρχου τεῖχος. The *Suda* (tenth century) is the only source in which the ‘Wall of Hipparchus’ is mentioned. A part of the ‘wall’ was discovered, according P. Stavropoulos, to the east of the early Helladic building. Geometric and archaic tombs had been revealed on either side of the wall (*Praktika* 1958: 11; *Arch.Delt.* 16 (1960), Chron. 34).

²⁹ Hermes and Heracles are probably linked to the gymnasium, as one is the ‘leader of speech, and the other of strength’, respectively (Athenaeus, 13.561). Pausanias, arriving at the Academy from Athens, having crossed the street of *Dēmosion Sēma*, briefly mentions the shrines and altars he encountered: ‘before the entrance of the Academy there is an altar of Eros ... in the Academy there is a sanctuary of Prometheus, Muses ... and another one of Hermes, and within the altar of Athena they made one for Heracles’ (Paus. 1.30.2). It seems that he somehow distinguishes the altars he spatially encountered, possibly moving from outside to the inside towards the *temenos*.

³⁰ *Arch.Delt.* 22 (1967), Chron. B1, 46; *AAA* 1968: 101–2.

³¹ *AAA* ο.π., 101.



1. The 'Sacred House' area.
2. The 'Wall of Hipparchos'.
3. 73 Vassilikon and T.Lokrou St.
4. Mitrodorou and Geminou St.
5. 107 Argous St.
6. Serron and S.Patsi St.
7. 15–17 V. Benaki St.
8. 4 Achilleos – M. Alexandrou – Kolonou St.
9. 1 Aimonos St.
10. Aimonos and Tripoleos St.

- +** BURIAL/
CEMETERY
- ★** INDICATION FOR
SANCTUARY
- POTTERY

Map 3.3 Archaic Period.

there. We can assume that this need is related to the establishment of the first gymnasium.

An important finding of the late archaic period is the marble relief of ram-bearing Hermes,³² found in 1971 at a relatively short distance from the place where the *horos* was found. Although the marble relief was removed from the pit of a public utility project, and thus it is missing its archaeological context, it is an important element in the research around the sanctuary of Hermes.

A cemetery of the first half of the sixth century BC has been found in the south-west of the current Archaeological Site,³³ while evidence for cemeteries of the same period is given from individual graves.³⁴

Our insight into the Academy in the archaic period is mostly based on the literature rather than on actual findings; neither the building of the gymnasium nor the altars have been located so far. This could be attributed to chance or to the fact that they were not built of stone or mud-brick. As for the altars mentioned by Pausanias, the date of their erection remains uncertain.

3.5 Classical Period

According to Plutarch, in the first half of the fifth century BC, Cimon managed to convert the Academy: 'from waterless and parched, he turned it into an irrigated grove with clean streets and shaded walks.'³⁵

We assume that this was achieved by the construction of hydraulic works that used the water of the Cephissus River and its tributaries, and by expanding the olive grove. Plutarch's description does not refer to a fluvial area that is irrigated naturally. He probably describes the suburb of the Academy, perhaps at some distance from the river, which could be the hill of Hippius Colonus (see Map 3.4).

In *Oedipus at Colonus*,³⁶ written in the late fifth century BC, Hippius Colonus is a well watered place, with a dense grove of olives, ivy and daffodils. Hydraulic works of the classical period, clay-coated wells and pipelines have been revealed in a few cases,³⁷ in one of which³⁸ a part of the pipe continues as an underground tunnel. The continuous use of

³² *Arch.Delt.* 27 (1972), Chron. B1, 88.

³³ *Arch.Delt.* 33 (1978), Chron. B1, 24–5.

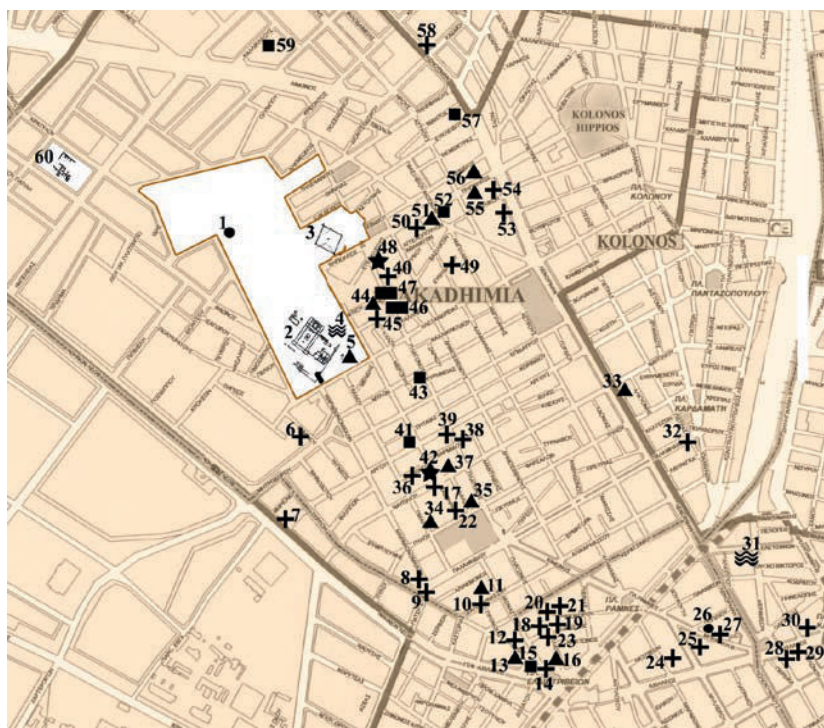
³⁴ *Arch.Delt.* 22 (1967), Chron. B1, 114; 29 (1973–4), Chron. B1, 123–4.

³⁵ ἐξ ἀνύδρου καὶ αὐχμηρᾶς κατάρρυτον ἀποδείξας ἄλσος ἡσκημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμοις καθαροῖς καὶ συσκίοις περιπάτοις, *Plut. Cim.* 13; D.L. 3.7.

³⁶ *S. OC* 668–719.

³⁷ *Arch.Delt.* 43 (1988), Chron. B1, 38–9.

³⁸ *Arch.Delt.* 33 (1978), Chron. B1, 26.



1. The 'Sacred House' area.
2. The 'Gymnasium'.
3. The 'Square Peristyle'.
4. 73 Vassilikon and T.Lokrou St.
5. 90 Alexandrias St.
6. Mitrodorou and Geminou St.
7. 148 Argous and Athinon St.
8. 47 Serron St.
9. Serron and Sp. Patsi St.
10. 94 Alikarnassou St.
11. 94 Alikarnassou St.
12. Serron St.
13. Serron St.
14. 54 Serron St.
15. 54 Serron St.
16. 2 Serron St.
17. 51 Monastiriou and Nafpliou St.
18. 20 Platonos and Pithodorou St.
19. 13 Platonos-Siatistis and Pithodorou St.
20. 13 Platonos-Siatistis and Pithodorou St.

21. 18 Platonos-Siatistis St.
22. Monastiriou-T. Lokrou St.
23. 20 Platonos and Pithodorou St.
24. 44 Achilleos St.
25. 8-10 V. Benaki St.
26. 15-17 V. Benaki St.
27. 13 V. Benaki St.
28. 52 Achilleos and Iasonos St.
29. Achilleos and Kolonou St.
30. 4 Achilleos - M. Alexandrou - Kolonou St.
31. 65A V. Hugo St.
32. Palamidiou and Petras St.
33. 84 Lenorman St.
34. Monastiriou-T. Lokrou St.
35. Platonos-Falakiou St.
36. 53 Monastiriou St.
37. 78 Nafpliou St.
38. 80 Platonos St.
39. Argous and Platonos St.
40. Astrifou 5 St.

41. Argous and Monastiriou St.
42. 51 Monastiriou and Nafpliou St.
43. Milon and Monastiriou St.
44. 56 Vassilikon and Kratylou St.
45. 56 Vassilikon and Kratylou St.
46. 105 Platonos St.
47. 107 Platonos St.
48. 7 Eteokleous and Platonos St.
49. 117b Alamanas and Efthimidou St.
50. Aimonos and Tripoleos St.
51. Tripoleos 14.
52. 26 Aimonos and Tripoleos St.
53. 129 Lenorman St.
54. Lenorman-Vassilikon and Tripoleos St.
55. 23 Tripoleos St.
56. 14 Tripoleos St.
57. 7 Eukleidou St.
58. 200 Lenorman St.
59. Kilikleous St.
60. The 'Veneta Farm'.

- BURIAL/CEMETERY
- SETTLEMENT RESIDUES
- POTTERY
- HYDRAULIC WORKS
- INDICATION FOR SANCTUARY
- PRECINCT WALL OF THE ACADEMY
- ROAD
- WORKSHOP

Map 3.4 Classical Period.

these hydraulic works during different periods, however, makes their precise dating difficult.

The Academy was connected to the city of Athens via *Dēmosion Sēma*.³⁹ Initially it was 40 m wide and on its sides the public cemetery grew, from the beginning of the fifth century BC.⁴⁰ This road was located during the early excavations, in 1930, and its width was then 5 m. Along its way a number of tombs, dating from the fifth century BC to Roman times, came to light.⁴¹

Since then, parts of the road have been revealed in numerous excavations and in several cases they have been covered over by earth or they have remained visible in the foundations of modern buildings in the area. It is thought that this road broadly followed the current direction of Platonos St. According to J. Travlos,⁴² there was a secondary carriageway parallel to the ancient street.⁴³

The recovery of a burial area and some inscribed funerary monuments attributed to family members of the orator Lycurgus⁴⁴ date to mid fourth century BC, and this is important evidence for the topography of the region. This also confirms Pausanias' testimony,⁴⁵ according to which the tomb of Lycurgus is the last monument before one enters the Academy. Thus, we should seek an entrance to the Academy, a *propylon*, which has not yet been found in the excavations performed in this area. The southern part of the precinct, dating from the late fourth century BC,⁴⁶ an important period in the Academy's history, has been identified rather precisely.

³⁹ Lygouri-Tolia 2009: 138–9, with references to the points where the road has been identified.

⁴⁰ According to ancient authorities, its length was about one to one and a half kilometres (1,000 Roman paces), as Livy mentions (31.24), or six *stadia* (c.1110 m) according to Cicero (Cic. *Fin.* 5.1).

⁴¹ *ΠΑΑ* 1933: 243–8, ΕΙΚ. I.

⁴² Travlos 1971: 318.

⁴³ A characteristic picture of the ancient road was revealed, on Platonos Street, where, remarkably, traces formed by the continuous movement of the wheeled traffic were visible on the eastbound part of the road: *Arch.Delt.* 29 (1973–4) Chron. B1, 47–9, fig. 10–13.

⁴⁴ *Arch.Delt.* 34 (1979) Chron. B1, 18–20.

⁴⁵ Paus. 1.29.15.

⁴⁶ It has been found in numerous excavations, from the point where the road would lead, to the point where the *horos* mentioned earlier was revealed, at 105 Platonos St.: *Arch.Delt.* 43 (1988), Chron. 36–8, and at 107 Platonos St.: *Arch.Delt.* 45 (1990), Chron. 47–8.

On the site plan of the area as it was from the fifth century BC onwards, we can observe the significant expansion of the cemeteries, which are spread on either side of the street of *Dēmosion Sēma*, organized either in loose clusters or within burial enclosures.⁴⁷

Plato, on his return from Sicily, in the early fourth century BC, began his peripatetic teaching along the paths of the Sacred Grove and on the benches of the gymnasium.

3.6 Roman Period

The 'Sacred Grove' of the Academy had been vandalized during the siege of Athens by Philip V of Macedonia in 202 BC, and again in 86 BC by Sulla, who cut down the trees.⁴⁸

The archaeological remains of the Roman Period, after the first century BC, are found concentrated in the area south and east of the Archaeological Site (see Map 3.5). Although up to this period a noteworthy absence of public or private buildings has been observed, in the Roman Period, architectural remains do indicate the existence of several buildings.

The architectural remains are fragmentary, but there are instances where large, probably public, roadside buildings have been reported. One example is the building found at Vassilikon St.⁴⁹ It is part of a Roman circular building of an impressive size, with a graphically rendered diameter of 16.30 m. Another example is offered by the scant remains of a *balneum*.⁵⁰

Excavations in the area have uncovered traces of the main road axes. Those that suffered from heavy traffic were maintained. Traces of surface repairs and widening works have been also identified. An example of this is the thoroughfare towards Hippius Colonus.⁵¹

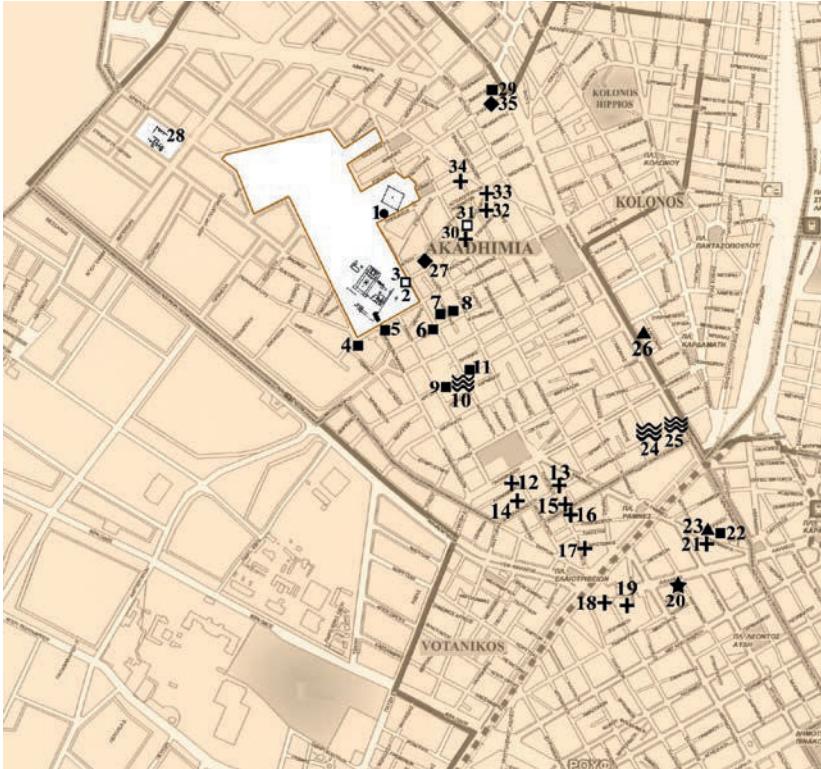
⁴⁷ Junction between Monastiriou and Siatistis St.: *Arch.Delt.* 44 (1989), Chron. B1, 24–5. Junction between Monastiriou and Feakon St.: *Arch.Delt.* 33 (1978), Chron. B1, 24. Serron St.: *Arch.Delt.* 45 (1990), Chron. B1, 44–6.

⁴⁸ Plut. *Sull.* 12; App. *Mith.* 30.

⁴⁹ *Arch.Delt.* 22 (1967), Chron. B1, 64–5.

⁵⁰ *Arch.Delt.* 33 (1978), Chron. B1, 22.

⁵¹ *Arch.Delt.* 33 (1978), Chron. B1, 25–6.



1. 62 Tripoleos St.
2. The 'Gymnasium' area.
3. Vassilikon and Monastiriou St.
4. 107 Alexandrias St.
5. Alexandrias and Marathonomachon St.
6. Milon and Monastiriou St.
7. 6 Meropis St.
8. 8 Meropis St.
9. 106 Argous St.
10. Argous and Monastiriou St.
11. 106 Argous St.
12. 75-82 Palamidiou St.
13. 82 Alikarnassou St.
14. 94 Alikarnassou St.
15. Platonos and Keratsiniou St.
16. 54 Keratsiniou and Platonos St.
17. 6-8 Platonos St.

18. Achilleos and Salaminos St.
19. 67 Achilleos St.
20. 67 Achilleos St.
21. 13 V. Benaki St.
22. 13 V. Benaki St.
23. 13 V. Benaki St.
24. 21 Alikarnassou St.
25. 6 Alikarnassou St.
26. 84 Lenorman St.
27. 73 Vassilikon and T.Lokrou St.
28. The 'Veneta Farm'.
29. Eukleidou St.
30. 58 Vassilikon St.
31. 58 Vassilikon St.
32. 24 Vassilikon and Aimonos St.
33. 24 Vassilikon and Aimonos St.
34. Aimonos and Tripoleos St.
35. 7 Eukleidou St.

- BURIALS/CEMETERY
- SETTLEMENT RESIDUES
- POTTERY
- HYDRAULIC WORKS
- INDICATION FOR SANCTUARY
- ROAD
- WORKSHOP
- PUBLIC BUILDING

Map 3.5 Roman Period.

The cemeteries, usually situated along roads and in areas where earlier burials existed, contain burials arranged in clusters⁵² or within burial enclosures.⁵³

Remains of workshops and industrial quarters are very few and appear to be associated either with the road towards the Hippius Colonus hill or with the precinct at the east of the area of the gymnasium.⁵⁴

Hydraulic infrastructure comprising pipelines and cisterns is also usually associated with roads.⁵⁵ Irrigation channels leading off the tributary of the Cephissus River have been also found.⁵⁶

3.6.1 *The Building in the 'Veneta Farm'*

In the area north of the Archaeological Site the systematic quarrying for clay in the 1950s and 1960s brought to light more archaeological remains. They are dated to the first century BC and later.

A building excavated by Phoebus Stavropoulos at the so-called 'Veneta Farm', just north of the Archaeological Site (Fig. 3.3), seems to be of particular importance.⁵⁷

The building included a large courtyard, ten rooms and a basement hypocaust. Some of the building materials from earlier buildings were reused. The building has been dated to the Hellenistic period and has exaggeratedly been considered to be clearly associated with Plato's Academy.

In the area around the building were also found burials of the early fifth century BC, along with fragments of funerary reliefs of the fourth century BC and reused marble architectural elements as well as a marble sepulchral altar (Fig. 3.4) of the second century AD.⁵⁸ North-west of the building, at a distance of about 300 m, a strong retaining wall⁵⁹ was discovered, which probably followed the riverbed of the Cephissus River.

Further south, three cisterns of the third century AD and a cluster of graves of the same period⁶⁰ were discovered. A short distance away from

⁵² Junction between 58 Amphiarau and Diodorou St.: *Arch.Delt.* 48 (1993), Chron. B1, 38–9.

⁵³ Junction between 54 Keratsiniou and Platonos St.: *Arch.Delt.* 27 (1972), Chron. B1, 115–18. 6–8 Platonos St.: *Arch.Delt.* 23 (1968), Chron. B1, 84–8.

⁵⁴ Junction between Vassilikon 73 and Timeou Lokrou St.: *Arch.Delt.* 43 (1988), Chron. B1, 38–9.

⁵⁵ 21 Alikarnassou St.: *Arch.Delt.* 44 (1989), Chron. B1, 23.

⁵⁶ Junction between Antigonis, Amphiarau and Agiou Dimitriou St.: *Arch.Delt.* 34 (1979), Chron. B1, 33.

⁵⁷ *Praktika* 1963: 7–28.

⁵⁸ *Praktika* 1963: 19–20, pl. 14a.

⁵⁹ *Praktika* 1963: 19, pl. 15a.

⁶⁰ *Praktika* 1963: 19, 23, pl. 18a.



Fig. 3.3 Architectural remains in the 'Veneta Farm'. Archive of the 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.

the retaining wall, a marble sarcophagus depicting Bellerophon, Pegasus and panther hunting,⁶¹ as well as a votive relief to Cybele, came to light.⁶²

As most of these findings were revealed in trenches dug for clay collection, the contextual information is insufficient, and for this reason it is not possible to infer any conclusions about the character of these building remnants.

However, the funerary activity in this area, already observed in the early fifth century and throughout the fourth century BC, indicates that

⁶¹ *Praktika* 1963: 26–7, pl. 19–21.

⁶² *Praktika* 1963: 17, pl. 10.



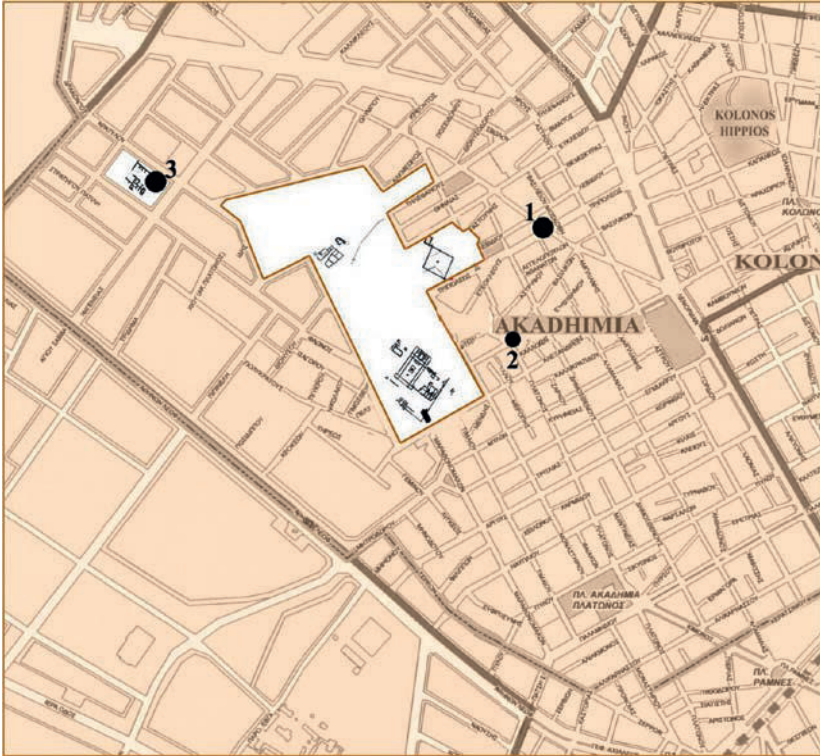
Fig. 3.4 Marble sepulchral altar. From the archive of the 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.

this point extends outside the boundaries of the 'Sacred Grove' *temenos* of the Academy.

The building found in the 'Veneta Farm' was constructed in the first century BC and was still standing in the second century AD, and possibly also in the third century, if we assume that the cisterns and the cemetery are related to it.

The interesting fact that may be ascertained is that we have a point herein with burial activity from the fifth century BC to the second AD, an activity which could not have been developed in the sacred area. Therefore, the boundary of the sacred precinct must be placed further south of the area of the 'Veneta Farm'.

The southern boundary of the Academy has been identified on the basis of the funerary monuments attributed to the family of Lycurgus and the eastern boundary on the basis of the ΗΓΟΡΟΣ ΤΕΣ ΗΕΚΑΔΕΜΕΙΑΣ stone slab. These help us to gain a fair idea of the area occupied by the ‘Sacred Grove’ of the Academy (see Map 3.6).



1. Aimonos and Tripoleos St.
2. 56 Vassilikon and Kratylou St.
3. 'Veneta Farm'.

Map 3.6 'Veneta Farm'.

The Gymnasium of the Academy and the School of Plato

Eutychia Lygouri-Tolia

According to the available textual sources, the area in which what Cicero¹ refers to as the *nobilissimum orbis terrarum gymnasium* of the Academy was located to the west of the Dipylon and close to the hill of Hippius Colonus.² After the topographical identification of the area of the Sacred Grove of the Academy, the actual site of the school of the great philosopher Plato still remains one of the unresolved problems relating to the topography of ancient Athens.³

In antiquity the Academy was an extensive area to the west of the city of Athens, with groves of shady trees and pathways, on the banks of the River Cephissus. It owes its name to the hero/first settler (*oikistēs*) of this place, Academus or Hecademus,⁴ who seems to have been invented in order to interpret an already existing toponym, as is known to have happened in other cases.⁵ However, the same name has been considered as meaning also Δῆμος ἐκὰς τοῦ ἄστεως, that is, *dēmos* far from the city.⁶ The river and its alluvium seem to have been the reason why there was

¹ Cic. *Fam.* 4.12.3.

² Papagiannopoulos-Palaiois 1952/3: 74.

³ The identification of the site of the ancient Academy is due principally to the excavations conducted over the decade 1929–39, also known as the pre-war excavations of the Academy, sponsored by the architect Panagiotis Aristophron, a Greek from Alexandria in Egypt and an admirer of Plato. Aristophron made over a large part of his fortune to the Academy of Athens, which in his opinion was the successor to the ancient Academy, in order to proceed with excavations and expropriations, under the supervision of the archaeologist K. Kourouniotis, in the area then known as Bythoulas or Vythoulas. This place name clearly denotes the configuration of the terrain hereabouts, in the valley of the Cephissus river. These excavations brought to light almost all the surviving antiquities in the archaeological site of the Academy. Aristophron in his small book (1934) describes how he was inspired to discover the Academy of Plato. After his death in 1945, excavations were resumed in 1955, under the direction of Phivos Stavropoulos, continuing until 1963, under the aegis of the Greek Archaeological Service. Since then systematic excavations have stopped and were replaced by the rescue excavations in the Academy district under the direction of the 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.

⁴ For the hero Academus see Kron 1981: 433; Threatte 2007: 24–6.

⁵ Threatte 2007: 26.

⁶ Papachatzis 1974: 384, n. 1.

important settlement as well as workshop installations here during Geometric times, as emerges from the pottery and the tombs of this period which have come to light in the area of the Academy.⁷

During the archaic period, Peisistratus and the Peisistratids established *Akadēmeia* as an important religious centre.⁸ In the sixth century BC, the Academy Gymnasium, one of the three earliest gymnasia of Athens, was founded in this place. At that period young men used to exercise in wide open spaces at some distance from the city, within shady groves with abundant water, in proximity to a river or a spring and close to a sanctuary.⁹ That is why the suburbs of Athens, *Akadēmeia* (Academy), *Lykeion* (Lyceum) and Cynosarges (Fig. 4.1), were selected as venues for physical exercise and athletic training.¹⁰ Demosthenes is the first to inform us of

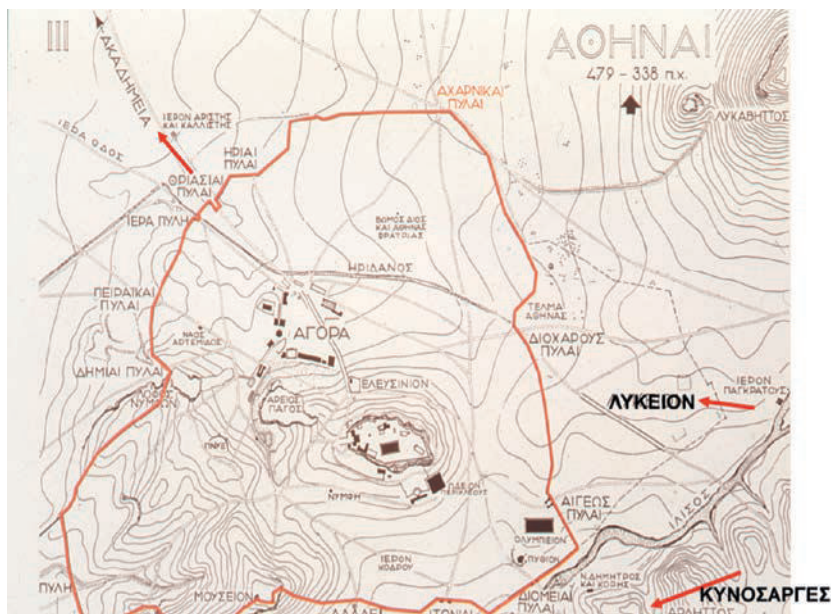


Fig. 4.1 Map of Ancient Athens. Printed with permission from the Greek Archaeological Society.

⁷ Stavropoulos 1956: 47–52; Stavropoulos 1958: 9–10; Mazarakis Ainian and Livieratou 2010: 87 ff. Panayiotopoulos and Chatziefthimiou in the present volume, pp. 36–7.

⁸ Delorme 1960: 38, 40–1; Kyle 1993: 73; Papachatzis 1974: 393, n. 1; Travlos 1980: 42. See also Marchiandi in the present volume, pp. 17–19.

⁹ Vittr. 5.11.4; Glass 1988: 160 ff.; Kyle 1993: 95; Wacker 1996: 13.

¹⁰ Dicaearchus (*GGM* vol. 1, p. 98) mentions Γυμνάσια τρία: Academy, Lyceum, Cynosarges. It seems that this order of mention indicates correspondingly their order of importance.

the existence of the three gymnasia since the time of Solon, that is, the early sixth century BC.¹¹

At the time of Peisistratus and the Peisistratids, the area of the Academy and its gymnasium was circumscribed by a precinct wall (ἱππάρχου τεῖχος), a very costly construction that is attributed to Peisistratus' son Hipparchus.¹² In the fifth century BC, Cimon¹³ planted trees and ensured a water supply, by constructing an aqueduct in the space of the gymnasium, thus transforming it into a verdant grove. He also turned the Academy from a religious centre with limited athletic activities, exclusive to the aristocratic class, into a gymnasium open to all citizens.¹⁴

Aristophanes admirably describes this idyllic setting of the 'most beautiful suburb' in his *Clouds*, 1005–8, where he refers to youths who spend their free time in the Academy in the spring, amidst the wild flowers, beneath elms and plane trees, and near the water.¹⁵

The area of the Academy acquired an intellectual dimension when in 387 BC Plato founded there his philosophical school, after his return from his first visit to Sicily. According to Diogenes Laertius,¹⁶ within a privately owned orchard he founded the Mouseion and Exedra,¹⁷ where he taught. So great was the school's reputation that it was identified with the name of the place. In 347 BC Plato was buried in the Academy, after forty years of teaching.¹⁸ The direction of the school passed to his successors, among them Speusippus and Xenocrates. After 86 BC, that is, after its destruction by the Roman general Sulla, who felled the trees in the Academy's purlieu in order to build siege machines to use against the beleaguered Piraeus, the school fell into decline. Nonetheless, as we learn from Plutarch, the title 'Academician' remained current for many years afterwards.

The Academy was linked to Athens by a road, along the kerbs of which the public cemetery of the city, the *Dēmosion Sēma*, developed from the early fifth century BC (Fig. 4.2).¹⁹ During the classical period this road

¹¹ Dem. in *Timoc.* 114.

¹² Suid. s.v. τὸ ἱππάρχου τεῖχος; for testimonia see Lynch 1984: 177; also Threatch 2007: 34. Athenaeus, 13.609. Paus. 1.30.1 mentions an entrance and associates it with the dedication to Eros by Charmus. See also Marchiandi in the present volume, pp. 17–19.

¹³ Plut. *Cim.* 13.8.

¹⁴ Kyle 1993: 74.

¹⁵ Marchiandi, present volume p. 21, n. 64.

¹⁶ D.L. 3.41.

¹⁷ Museion: a sanctuary dedicated to the Muses. Exedra: a spacious hall that was intended to be used for the teaching of young men.

¹⁸ D.L. 3.41.

¹⁹ Lygouri-Tolia 2009: 138–9. Marchiandi, present volume pp. 15–16.



Fig. 4.2 From Dipylon to the Academy. Printed with permission from the Greek Archaeological Society.

was 39–40 m wide, at least in its first section, and its axis coincided with that of the present Plataion Street. It continued as an ordinary thoroughfare for wheeled vehicles, about 5 m wide, as demonstrated by the part of the ancient road found in Aristophron's excavations in 1930,²⁰ which has been preserved to the west of the church of St George in the present neighbourhood of Akademia Platonos (Fig. 4.3). On both sides of the road, the embankments of which have survived, numerous tombs dating from the classical period into Roman times were revealed. Following the course of this ancient road, on about the axis of the modern Monastiriou

²⁰ A section of this road is illustrated in Aristophron 1933: plate B facing p. 245.

Street, the excavators reached the little church of St Tryphon, where another section of the same ancient road was uncovered. Just before this road ended at a rectangular building (*propylon*), which at the time of its discovery was interpreted as the entrance to the Academy, it turned northwards (Fig. 4.3). It seems to have abutted a wall that was formerly identified as the *peribolos* of the Academy and indeed as the wall of Hipparchus.²¹ As was demonstrated in a later excavation,²² this is the



Fig. 4.3 Ancient Road found in Aristophron's excavations in 1930. Printed with permission from the Greek Archaeological Society.

²¹ Aristophron published photographs of two sections of it in Aristophron 1933: pl. B, 245, fig. 2; Robinson and Blegen 1937: 141. This *peribolos* is clearly visible at the bottom of plan 62, in Travlos 1980; it lies beneath the church of St Tryphon and forms a corner to the south-west of it. See also Marchiandi in the present volume, p. 18, and Panayiotopoulos and Chatziefthimiou in the present volume, pp. 35–7.

²² Lygouri-Tolia 1988a: 38–9.

precinct wall that functioned simultaneously as the retaining wall of a road running in the direction of the Hippius Colonus. Both the retaining wall and the road are dated to the classical period. An impressive long wall²³ of the fourth century BC, constructed of rectangular blocks in the isodomic system and resembling the outwork of the fortification wall of Athens, was brought to light on the same course as the *peribolos* (Fig. 4.3, 4.4, 4.5a and b, 4.6). This seems to be part of the precinct wall of the Academy, which in this period (fourth century BC) acquired monumental characteristics.

A large building revealed about 60 m from the entrance *propylon* of the Academy has been identified as the Gymnasium of the Academy (Fig. 4.7, 4.8).²⁴ Typologically it shares features of a palaestra. The term gymnasium normally characterizes a complex in which a palaestra is the most basic building.²⁵ The palaestra building is orientated north–south and comprises a rectangular court 23.40 x 44.40 m, surrounded by porticoes. The south side extended beyond the edges of the side walls and at the centre was a *propylon* that was probably the entrance to the building.

The halls on the north side are those best preserved and are of particular interest. Here, a central hall is surrounded on three sides by a narrow corridor created by a second wall or an elevated base 1.35 m wide. Arranged symmetrically on either side of the central hall are four rooms. These are constructed of rectangular blocks of Eleusinian limestone in second use, the traces of working on which date them to the archaic period. This indicates the existence of a building hereabouts during archaic times (Fig. 4.7).

The porticoes on the east, west and south sides of the palaestra building are 5.80 m wide. In the porticoes there is a row of square foundations of bases, whose sides are 0.72 m long and lie at intervals of 2.75 m. These bases are constructed of small, carefully dressed stones. On the north side of the court there is a narrow foundation, 12.40 m long (Fig. 4.8), built of boulders.

Close by lies an oblong cistern/pool which may have been used for a cold bath. At the centre of the court there is a large rectangular space demarcated by semicircular roof tiles. This was covered by a layer of durable impervious plaster (*opus spicatum*), which was usually used in hydraulic constructions, such as cisterns etc. A channel consisting of a

²³ Lygouri-Tolia 1988b; Lygouri-Tolia 1990a.

²⁴ This is a large group of structures in the lower left of plan 62 in Travlos 1980, north of Alexandreas St., where the entrance to the gymnasium is mentioned in Aristophron 1933: 71, fig. 4, 263; Robinson and Blegen 1937: 138–41; Stavropoulos, Συμπλήρωμα MEE: 341–2.

²⁵ Delorme 1960: 253 ff.; Glass 1988: 69 ff.; Wacker 1996: 13; Travlos 1971: 42–3, 44.

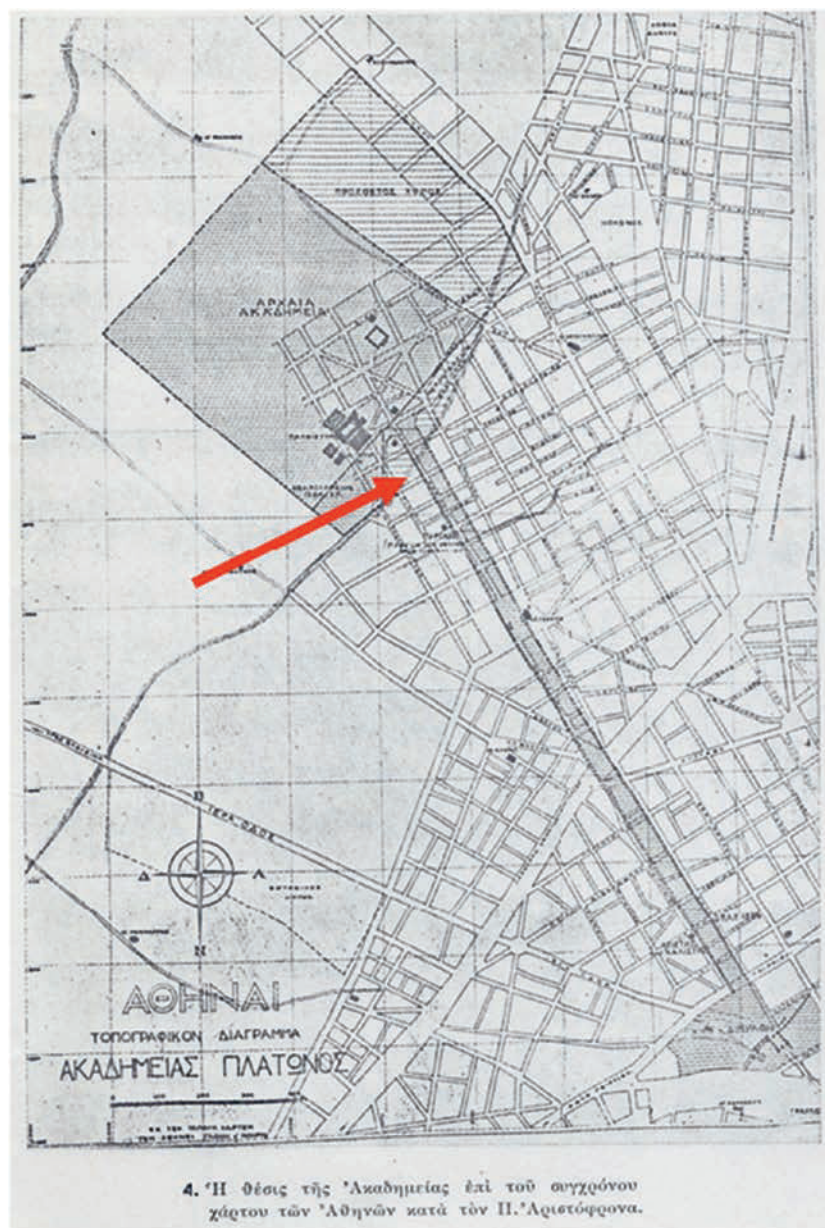


Fig. 4.4 The map of the ancient Academy by Aristophron. Printed with permission from the Greek Archaeological Society.

terracotta pipe indicates the probable existence of a well here. Initially, this construction was thought to be a wrestling pit.

East of the building, a cluster of cist graves has come to light, together with marble inscribed *kioniskoi*, which are dated to the late Hellenistic period.

West of the building, a bathhouse complex dated to the Roman period has also been excavated. At first, this building, which was identified as the gymnasium of the Academy, was dated to later Roman times.²⁶ Subsequently, John Travlos dated it to between the first century BC and the first century AD.²⁷

After the relatively recent discovery of the palaestra of the gymnasium of the Lyceum²⁸ (Fig. 4.9), on the opposite side of the city, in the east, and specifically by correlating it with other palaestrae, it was ascertained

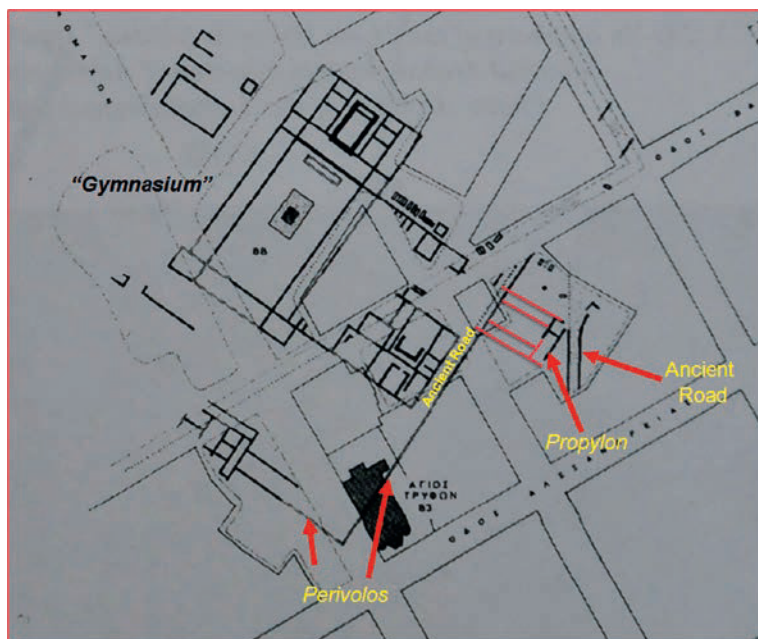


Fig. 4.5a Ancient road, *propylon* and *peribolos*. Printed with permission from the Greek Archaeological Society.

²⁶ Stavropoulos, Συμπλήρωμα MEE: 342.

²⁷ Travlos 1980: 42–3, 44.

²⁸ The palaestra of the Gymnasium of the Lyceum was found on the other side of the city, to the east, and specifically on the Rigillis Street plot. See Lygouri-Tolia 2002: 203–12, plates 45–8.

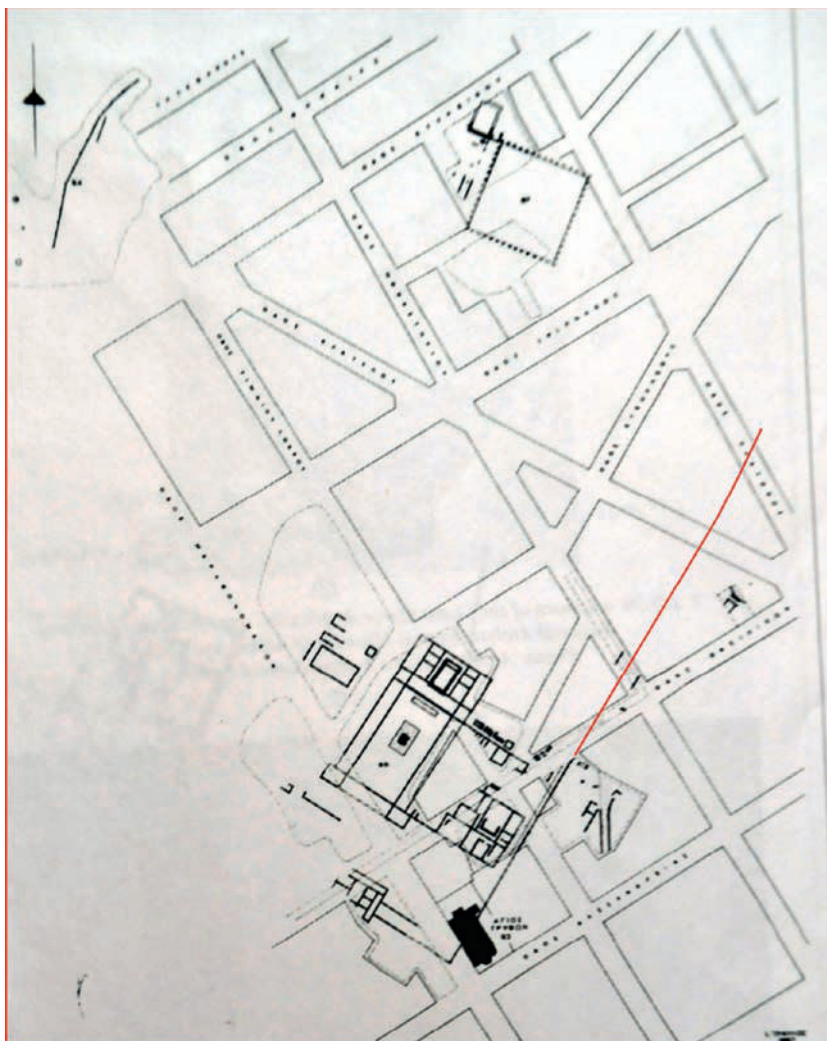


Fig. 4.5b *Peribolos* (rescue excavation in 105–107 Platonos Street, Academia Platonos).
Printed with permission from the Greek Archaeological Society.

that its closest parallel, mainly as far as the arrangement of the spaces on the north side are concerned, is the so-called gymnasium of the Academy.



Fig. 4.6 The classical *peribolos* found in the rescue excavation of 105–107 Platonos Street.
Photo by the author.

A comparison of the two buildings, namely the so-called gymnasium of the Academy and the palaestra of the gymnasium at the Lyceum, led to the following conclusions.

The palaestra of the gymnasium at the Lyceum conforms closely to Vitruvius' description of buildings of this type.²⁹ On either side of the central hall, the *Ephēbeion*,³⁰ were the *Elaiothesion*³¹ and the bath facilities

²⁹ Vit. 5.10–11. Vitruvius describes the palaestra, clarifying that it is a building that was formed par excellence by the Greeks.

³⁰ This is one spacious hall that was intended to be used for the teaching of young men.

³¹ The *elaiothesion* was a special space where wrestlers smeared their body with olive oil.



Fig. 4.7 The north part of the so-called Gymnasium of the Academy. Rectangular blocks of Eleusian limestone in second use. Photo by the author.



Fig. 4.8 The rectangular bases inside the porticoes of the so-called Gymnasium of the Academy. Printed with permission from the Greek Archaeological Society.

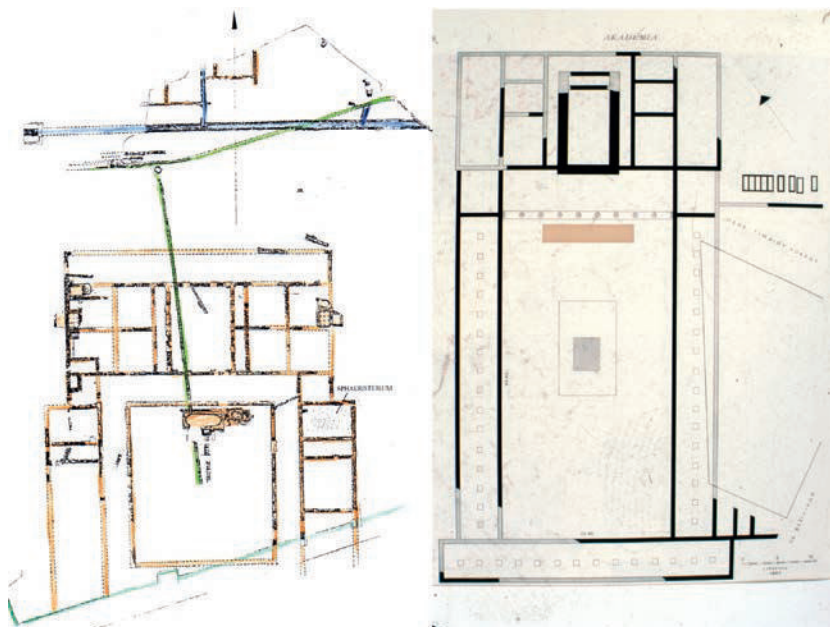


Fig. 4.9 The Palaestra of the Gymnasium of the Lyceum in Rigillis Street (left). The so-called Gymnasium of the Academy (right).

(with hot and cold water), the *kōrykeion*³² and the *konistērion*.³³ The central court is surrounded by porticoes (peristyles), which on three sides give access to symmetrically developed corresponding spacious halls (*exedrai*) where philosophers and orators presumably engaged in dialogue and debate, and where those interested in research could study scientific issues. Similar spaces must have existed on the south side too, as is the case in almost all known palaestrae. In the north and narrowest part of the building, which was constructed in the archaic period and seems to have constituted a prototype palaestra, a portico extended along the north side, as deduced from the surviving traces of walls. This portico could be identified as the *apodytērion*, a space mentioned in the Platonic

³² The *kōrykeion* was the space where the *kōrykoi* (leather punchbags filled with flour or sand) were suspended from the ceiling, to be pummelled by the exercising youths.

³³ The *konistērion* or *konistra* was the space with fine sand, in which wrestlers rolled after smearing themselves with oil.

dialogue *Euthydemus*,³⁴ which is set in the area of the Lyceum.³⁵ It is noted that Vitruvius does not refer to the *apodytērion* in his description of the palaestra. The rest of the building, which abuts the earlier one, was constructed in a second phase, during the fourth century BC. It is obvious that from the outset, that is from the late archaic period, this building was intended for athletic activities and apparently served this function throughout its existence.

By contrast, the so-called gymnasium of the Academy, although displaying typical features of a palaestra, does not seem to have been a building intended solely for physical exercise and athletics.

Unlike the Lyceum and other examples, the central court of the Academy gymnasium is surrounded only by porticoes, with no halls on either side and no halls to the south of it. Likewise, there are no bath facilities inside the building itself, although there is a bathhouse complex to the west. One significant indication that it is not a gymnasium or a palaestra is the central 'pit' with a floor made of waterproof plaster, denoting the existence of a pool and possibly a well; therefore, this was not a space intended for the training of wrestlers.

A second building that seems to be related to the installations of the so-called gymnasium of the Academy is the square peristyle, which was uncovered about 250 m to the north-east of it³⁶ and was considered by its excavator to be the *peripatos*, that is the school (διδασκαλεῖον) of Plato.

This is a peculiar building, measuring 40 x 40 m, which has not been revealed in its entirety (Fig. 4.10). It is constructed of conglomerate blocks placed as stretchers, which at regular intervals are double with strong foundation, indicating that columns or piers stood there. The building has been dated to the second half of the fourth century BC, but the finding of fragments of inscriptions and of one inscription of the third century BC³⁷ in its foundation led to a lowering of the date to the Hellenistic period.

³⁴ Plato, *Euthd.* 272e–273b.

³⁵ At the beginning of the dialogue Socrates is presented sitting in the *apodytērion* (changing room) and as he is about to leave he sees Euthydemus and Dionysodorus coming to the Lyceum through the roofed track (κατάστέγος δρόμος). The *apodytērion* must have been exactly at the entrance to the gymnasium and specifically to the palaestra, from where Socrates will have had a view of the roofed track, that is, a *xystos* for the training of runners, which ended at the *apodytērion*.

³⁶ It was found during Aristophron's excavations in 1932–3, on the plot bounded by Tripoleos, Monastiriou, Eukleidou and Platonos streets. See Travlos 1980, plan 62. See also Marchiandi in the present volume, p. 20.

³⁷ The inscription was published by Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1952/3. There is full reference to the inscription in Threatte 2007: 30. A dedication to Thebaeus, son of Lysiades of Alopece, found in the foundation of this building and dated to the third century BC, should have been enough to show that the construction was post-classical.



Fig. 4.10 The square peristyle from the north. Printed with permission from the Greek Archaeological Society.

It is very possible that the square peristyle is represented on a tessellated pavement from Pompeii, now in the Naples National Archaeological Museum.³⁸ Dated to the first century AD, this mosaic depicts philosophers seated on an *exedra*, holding papyrus book rolls and engaged in discussion. At their feet there are open cases for such book rolls (mobile libraries), while on the left there is a peristyle without roof, with ex-votos and a sundial, as well as a landscape with olive trees. Visible on the right of the background are the walls of Athens with the Acropolis and the Parthenon, thus conveying admirably the distance between the site of the Academy and the city of Athens.

Fragments of metopes and antefixes,³⁹ dated to the second half of the sixth century BC, recovered from the area of the peristyle in the Academy, are a clear indication of the presence of a building here already in late

³⁸ Inv. Nr. 124545 of the National Archaeological Museum in Naples; Gaiser 1980: 8, pl. 2; Hoepfner 2002: 56–7, fig. 72.

³⁹ Travlos 1980: 43, plates 54–5.

archaic times.⁴⁰ Other finds are parts of inscriptions dating from the end of the fourth century BC to Roman Imperial times.

The German architect and archaeologist, Professor W. Hoepfner,⁴¹ in the course of his reassessment of the function of the two buildings of the Academy in his monograph on ancient libraries, identified the square peristyle as the palaestra of the Academy and the so-called gymnasium as the Exedra or the Mouseion of Plato.⁴² According to him, all the evidence leads to the conclusion that this building was not a gymnasium but a locus of learning.

Specifically, Hoepfner argues that the north central hall was not an equivalent to Vitruvius' *ephēbeion*, but the library of Plato's school. He was led to this conclusion by the arrangement of the north part of the building, which resembles installations intended for libraries. The central hall must have functioned as a library, with bookshelves built into the lateral walls. The three outer sides of the library were surrounded by a corridor, which functioned as a ventilating chamber behind the library, ensuring that the papyrus rolls were effectively aired. In other words, the papyrus rolls did not touch the walls. Hoepfner ascribed the same function to the spaces on the north side of the palaestra of the gymnasium of the Lyceum.⁴³

In accordance with examples of other ancient libraries, the four rooms arranged symmetrically on either side of the main hall of the library of the Academy were either used for storage or served as scriptoria.

The rectangular foundations located in the porticoes were interpreted by Homer Thompson,⁴⁴ whose view was adopted also by Hoepfner, as bases supporting the tables at which the students studied, for writing and copying tasks. A total of forty tables could be accommodated. Thus, the so-called gymnasium of the Academy meets all the requirements of an intellectual centre, which was a library including a reading room. That is, it is a locus of learning and research, which is identified as Plato's philosophical school, the Exedra or the Mouseion.⁴⁵ Hoepfner places the statues of the nine Muses on the long narrow foundation north of the court.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Marchiandi, present volume, p. 20.

⁴¹ Hoepfner 2002: 56–62.

⁴² D.L. 4.19.

⁴³ Hoepfner 2002: 62.

⁴⁴ Thompson 1966: 42; Hoepfner 2002: 61 (with perspective drawings, fig. 75, 77).

⁴⁵ According to Diogenes Laertius, 3.25, Plato had laid the foundation of a sanctuary of the Muses in the Academy, which was possibly also the first building of the school; see also Hoepfner 2002: 56.

⁴⁶ In the Mouseion, Plato's successor Speusippus set up statues of the Graces (Charites). Here too a Persian admirer of Plato dedicated a portrait statue of the philosopher, a work of the sculptor Silanion (D.L. 3.25).

Indeed, the two *oikoi* formed at the north ends of the porticoes have been interpreted as the 'house of the reader',⁴⁷ where gatherings akin to symposia took place.⁴⁸

The Academy building was dated initially to later Roman times⁴⁹ and subsequently to the first century BC/first century AD,⁵⁰ periods that cannot be associated with Plato, who is known to have founded the School in 387 BC.

However, only one construction phase has been distinguished in the Academy building. The walls of the foundations are of small fieldstones with mud as mortar and no plaster. For the superstructure in the north part, as we have seen, blocks from some pre-existing archaic edifice in the area were utilized in second use. Archaic or early classical building material, such as the column-drum fragment, cornice fragment and Doric column capital, have been incorporated into the fabric of the foundation walls. *Spolia* of a period later than the classical do not seem to have been used in the construction. Furthermore, the way in which the walls are built does not present features advocating a later date, and certainly not late Roman times, as initially proposed. The east inside wall of the portico, where a small part of the superstructure is preserved, resembles Conon's fortification wall of Athens, which is dated to the early fourth century BC, and specifically 394 BC. The same kind of masonry is encountered also in the part of the *peribolos* unearthed to the east of the building, which has been dated together with the ancient road to the fourth century BC. One further piece of evidence that leads to a date before the first century BC is the cluster of tombs brought to light to the east of the building. These have been dated by their grave goods to the late Hellenistic period. Their position and primarily their orientation show that spatially they are harmonized completely with the so-called

⁴⁷ Book historian Staikos has recently adopted Hoepfner's view, namely that the so-called gymnasium of the Academy is the library and the school of Plato. Staikos also deals with the books pertaining to the Platonic corpus. Through Plato's dialogues he detects earlier works that the philosopher must have had in his library. At the same time, his work also provides important information on the Athenian citizens' relationship with books and on publication practices in Plato's day. It reveals for the first time the role of the *anagnōstēs* (the person who reads aloud) in the Platonic Academy, mainly from the time Aristotle assumed this position (see Staikos 2013: 15–18). From Socrates' day, the position of reader was held by a literate slave, who with stentorian voice read out loud the philosophical texts before an audience of Academy members, so that a treatise could be approved and therefore considered published (δεδημοσιευμένον). It seems that the lector Aristotle did not confine himself only to reading philosophical texts but turned into an examiner and critic at the level of philosophy, judging the ideas even of Plato himself.

⁴⁸ Hoepfner 2002: 61.

⁴⁹ Stavropoulos, Συμπλήρωμα MEE: 342.

⁵⁰ Travlos 1980: 42–3.

gymnasium, indicating that this antedated the tombs. A square statue pedestal or stele, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, was found *in situ* in the area of the graves.⁵¹ On three of the sides is a relief representation of a horseman with brimmed hat (*petasos*) and fluttering *chlamys*, poised to kill with his javelin a hoplite who has fallen on the ground. The representation recalls that on the grave stele of Dexileos from the Kerameikos, which is dated precisely by inscription to 394 BC, thus dating the pedestal to the same period.

All the evidence presented above leads to the conclusion that the Academy building was constructed in the fourth century BC, and indeed at the beginning of the century. This dating is reinforced by the spatial layout of the entire complex, namely of the building, the precinct wall and the entrance *propylon*, which is distinguished by strict symmetry and precision on a horizontal and a vertical axis. In our opinion this is a highly significant feature which demonstrates that everything was conceived and designed as a single entity from the outset.⁵²

Consequently, this building is not a palaestra and, unlike the palaestra of the Lyceum, was not intended from the outset for athletic activities but was planned and built expressly to house the rich library of Plato and his school. It is very possible that in this space there was an earlier installation of athletic character, which was destroyed, as is surmised from the existence of earlier material built into the walls of this phase.⁵³

As is well known, Plato was the first collector of books, even though, like his mentor Socrates, he had cast doubt on the importance of written discourse. Diogenes Laertius⁵⁴ speaks of Plato's systematic quest for and manner of acquisition of various treatises, mainly containing Pythagoras' theories, when he was in Magna Graecia. It seems that Plato's extensive personal collection of books played a major role in the teaching process taking place in the Academy. Without the library, study of the pre-Socratic philosophers, of the Pythagorean mathematicians, of astronomy, geography and other disciplines would not have been possible.

The Library of the Academy, that is the Exedra or Mouseion of Plato, must have been the model for the founding of such buildings in later times, such as the Library of Hadrian at Athens⁵⁵ (Fig. 4.11). Aristotle,

⁵¹ Inventory number 3708, Kaltsas 2002: 171, n. 337.

⁵² It has been suggested that the harmony and symmetry of the Academy's morphology was achieved mainly through the dimensions of the central building, in which the Pythagorean ratio 1:2 of the classical period was applied; see Staikos 2013: 187, 192.

⁵³ Kyle 1993: 72.

⁵⁴ D.L. 3.9.

⁵⁵ Hoepfner 2002: 62; Staikos 2002: 186–90, 248–55; Staikos 2013: 186.

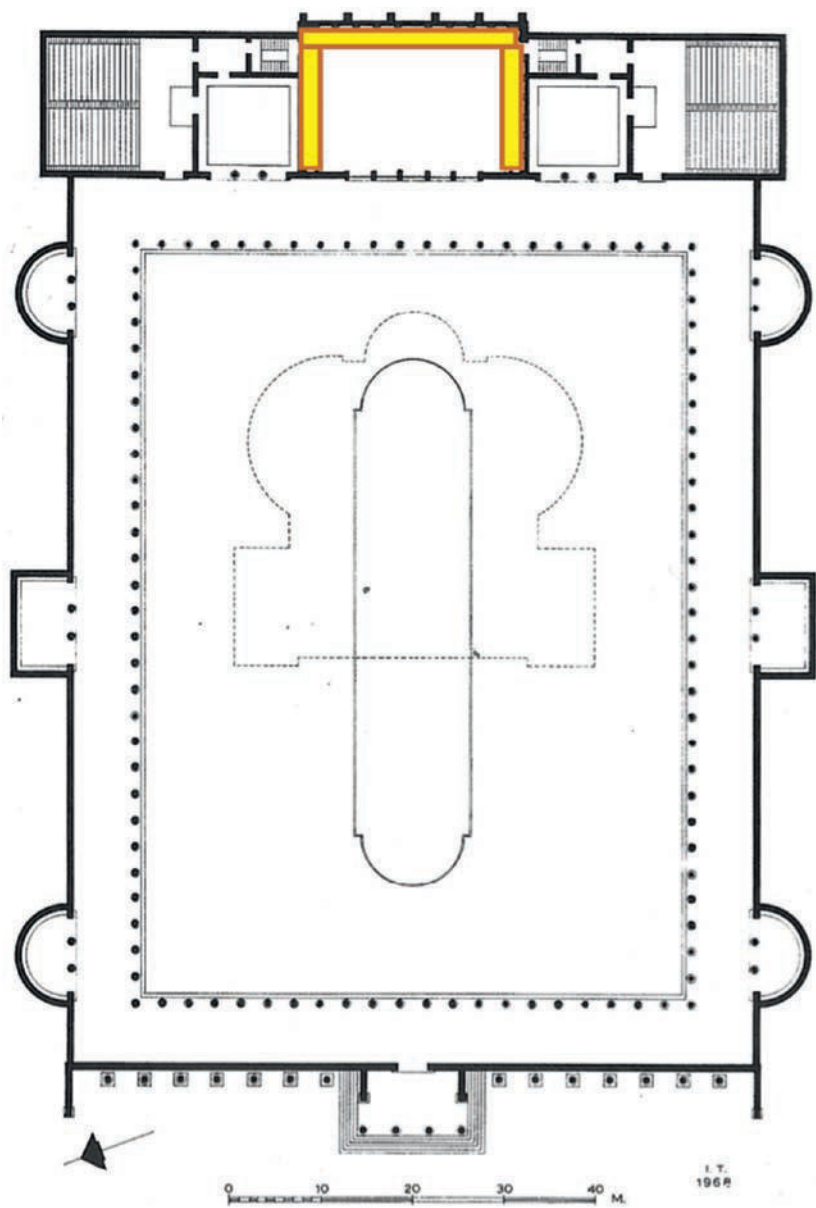


Fig. 4.11 Plan of Hadrian's Library in Athens.

who was Plato's student in the Academy for seventeen years, likewise created his own library in the school he founded in 335 BC, in the gymnasium of the Lyceum. His mentor and Plato's school were the model for his teaching activity, but mainly for conducting his wide-ranging research and writing his extensive oeuvre.⁵⁶

It seems that to these two schools, the Platonic and the Peripatetic, we owe the rescue of many works and traditions concerning their founders, and of works belonging to the earlier Greek literary corpus, as well as the consolidation of the importance of the role of books and of libraries in writing scientific treatises.⁵⁷ The tendency of students and teachers in these schools to collect, archive and publish their works set a precedent emulated by later philosophical schools or circles both in the West and in the East.

⁵⁶ Strabo, 13.100.608–9, refers to the library of the Lyceum as the most important private library of antiquity.

⁵⁷ View expressed by Staikos 2002: 108.

The Academy in Athenian Politics and Society
Between Disintegration and Integration:
The First Eighty Years (387/6–306/5)

Matthias Haake*

5.1 Introduction

At the beginning of his description of Athens in his work *On the Cities of Greece*, written sometime in the third century, the periegete Heraclides Criticus plays with the expectations of his ‘travelling readers’ regarding the ‘famous city of Athens’.¹ After having led them across the pleasant scenery of the cultivated countryside between Eleusis and Athens along the Sacred Way, the ‘lighthouse of the *oikoumenē*’² is imagined as a true and bitter disappointment. At least at first glance: in fact, Athens is so disappointing that people coming to the ‘school of Hellas’³ for the first time might even doubt that this conglomeration of mostly shabby houses inadequately supplied with water and, due to the age of the city, with narrow and winding roads, is really the ‘famous city of Athens’. Yet, after a short time, the traveller would gain confidence again that he is actually in Athens – because:

It is truly the loveliest place in the inhabited world. It possesses a noteworthy theatre, large and astonishing, as well as an expensive temple of

* For inviting me to participate in the Athenian ‘Academy conference’, I would like to thank the organisers, among them especially Chloe Balla and Paul Kalligas. Whereas my conference paper dealt with the Academy from its establishment in 387/6 to its downfall in 87/6, this contribution is restricted to the first eighty years of the history of the Academy. Tiziano Dorandi (Paris) and Kai Trampedach (Heidelberg) commented on an earlier version of this article. I am grateful to them as well as to the participants in the conference for their valuable suggestions. Marie-Kathrin Drauschke (Münster), Ann-Cathrin Harders (Bielefeld) and Anna Palmer (Bielefeld) helped in many respects during the preparation of this text. I would like to thank Nino Luraghi (Oxford) for allowing me to read and to refer to three then unpublished articles. Last, but by no means least, I am especially grateful to Johanna Hanink (Providence, RI) and Phillip Horky (Durham) for improving the English of my text and for helpful suggestions. Dreßler 2014, Long 2014, Allen 2016 and Nebelin 2016: esp. 311–56 appeared too late to be taken into account. All dates are BC.

¹ Heraclid. Crit. 1.1; for the Greek text, its German and English translation respectively, and commentary, see now *FGrHV* 2022 *F1A* (A. Arenz) and *BNJ* 369A *F1* (J. McNerney).

² Plut. *Demetr.* 8.2.

³ Even though this wording is obviously a loan taken from Thucydides (Th. 2.41.1), it is not understood in the proper Thucydidean sense. See Hornblower 1991: 308 *ad loc.*

Athena, which is conspicuous and worth seeing, the so-called Parthenon, perched above the theatre. It makes quite an impression on those who see it. Also impressive is the Olympieion. It is only half-finished but the plan of the building is clear. It would be the finest building of its type, were it ever finished. There are three gymnasia: the Academy, the Lykeion and the Kynosarges. All three are well wooded, and have grassy grounds.⁴

The fact that Heraclides lists these three gymnasia, alongside the astonishing sights referred to before, as those features that dispel the disbelieving traveller's doubts of indeed being in Athens, suggests that they are not mentioned first and foremost as *loci amoeni* of physical exercise and military training. If this was the case, they would hardly have been well-known and admirable enough to be commended among the most famous Athenian buildings. Due to the textual composition, the following remarks of Heraclides confirm this observation is right, but also that there was something else which, at least to some extent, took place in the mentioned gymnasium triad and gave rise to their fame – something else which made Athens special: 'festivals of many kinds, intellectual diversion as well as recreation by various philosophers'.⁵ Elsewhere, the periegete describes Athens' (public) atmosphere shaped by 'many learned discussions (i.e. "that in which leisure is employed" [LSJ]⁹, *s.v.* σχολή II.1)), and permanent spectacles'.⁶ Two important aspects can be deduced from Heraclides' description of third-century Athens regarding the literary image of the city which later the thirteenth-century Arabian scholar Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a called the 'city of philosophers':⁷ first, the three Athenian gymnasia were places associated with the social practice of philosophising, and, second, philosophers constituted an integral part of the Athenian cityscape.⁸

Setting aside the fame of Athens as a centre for philosophical study, this paper aims to offer an historical examination of a specific philosophical institution and its situation in Athenian politics and society: the

⁴ Heraclid. Crit. 1.1 (transl. J. McInerney): † ὧδε ἦν † τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη κάλλιστον· θέατρον ἀξιόλογον, μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πολυτελές, ἀπόψιον, ἄξιον θεᾶς, ὁ καλούμενος Παρθενών, ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ θεάτρου, μεγάλην κατάπληξιν ποιεῖ τοῖς θεωροῦσιν. Ολύμπιον ἡμιτελές μὲν κατάπληξιν δ' ἔχον τὴν τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὑπογραφὴν, γενόμενον δ' ἂν βέλτιστον εἴπερ συνετελέσθη. γυμνάσια τρία, Ἀκαδημία, Λύκειον, Κυνόσαργες· πάντα κατὰ δένδρα τε καὶ τοῖς ἐδάφεσι ποώδη.

⁵ Heraclid. Crit. 1.1: ἐορταὶ παντοδαπαὶ φιλοσόφων παντοδαπῶν ψυχῆς ἀπάται καὶ ἀνάπαυσις.

⁶ Heraclid. Crit. 1.1: σχολαὶ πολλαί, θέαι συνεχεῖς.

⁷ The quotation is from Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's work entitled *Sources of Information about the Generations of Physicians*; see Düring 1957: 214 (5).

⁸ See Haake 2007: 14–16, as well as Perrin 1994: 197–202; Fittschen 1995: 55–9; Habicht 2006: 189–91. See Arenz 2006: 177–85, with a commentary on Heraclides' description of Athens.

Academy. The period of time under investigation thus stretches not over 300 years, that is, from the establishment of the Academy by Plato in 387/6 to Sulla's 'sacco di Atene' in 87/6, an incisive event not only in the history of late Hellenistic Athens, but in a way also in the history of the Academy. Instead, the current investigation will be restricted to the eighty years from the establishment of the Academy by Plato in 387/6 to 306/5 when the so-called Law of Sophocles was repealed.

In the given context, such an undertaking cannot result in a continuous 'thick history' of the Academy; rather, its modest aims are clearly restricted and can be outlined in the following way: by means of several case studies on significant events, the position of the Academy and its related philosophers in Athenian politics and society will be analysed against the historical background from the classical period until early Hellenistic times. During these decades the position of the Academy oscillated between an at least partial social integration and repeated temporary, politically caused disintegration, whereas the general standing of the Academy in Athenian politics and society was never truly challenged after 306/5.

5.2 Setting the Scene: Plato's Establishment of a Philosophical School in 387/6

In 387/6, the so-called King's Peace concluded the Corinthian War and, for the time being, put an end to the hegemonic ambitions of Athens that had been reawakened after her overwhelming defeat in the Peloponnesian War. At that time, a forty-year-old man belonging to the Athenian upper class did something that was then not particularly eccentric, but in some respects even *à la mode*: he founded an establishment to convey, exercise and maintain 'intellectual skills' in the widest sense.⁹ The place where the man – none other than Plato – chose to run his establishment, a philosophical school,¹⁰ was the area of and around the Athenian gymnasium with the most elitist flair: the Academy.¹¹

Even though the Academy later became the most famous philosophical school and – justifiably or not – the model for innumerable scientific

⁹ See Lynch 1972: 48–54; Ostwald and Lynch 1994: 594–602; Nails: 1995: 213–15; Scholz 2003: 225–30. See most recently and in many respects comprehensively Caruso 2013: 31–58.

¹⁰ On the Platonic Academy as an institution in particular and philosophical schools as institutions in general, see below, pp. 71–4.

¹¹ On Plato's 'lyceums', see Scholz 1998: 17–18; Döring 2008: 269–71; Caruso 2013: 43–8. On the archaeology of the Academy and its surroundings, see now Caruso 2013: 65–117.

institutions all over the world, no explicit statement about Plato's establishment of his philosophical school is to be found in the extant ancient sources. Thus, it remains uncertain how the establishment of the Academy took place, and although it can with good reason be set in 387/6, this date cannot be determined with ultimate certainty.¹²

However, there is a most likely inauthentic, but doubtlessly well-informed and nearly contemporary pseudo-‘ego document’, the apologetic *Seventh Letter*, presumably written in the late 350s, which contains the alleged reasons for Plato's motivation to become a philosopher.¹³ Although one should not take literally the author's remarks, the *Seventh Letter* affords a starting point for reconstructing the background of Plato's reasons to establish a philosophical school, even if the author strikingly fails to mention the foundation of the school itself.

According to the *Seventh Letter*, Plato, who descended from ‘Athenian propertied families’ on both his father's and mother's sides,¹⁴ had – though not yet thirty years old – a twofold and far-reaching ‘Damascus experience’ that prevented him from pursuing the kind of life plan which was to be expected given his social origin, and at which he himself had initially aimed.¹⁵ First, the tyranny of the Thirty in 404/3: not only were a number of Plato's relatives and associates central figures in this terror regime, but Plato himself, after being asked to join the junta, had also diligently played a role in it – albeit a minor one – before he spotted the true, i.e. atrociously violent and corrupt character of the regime.¹⁶ Second, the death sentence and execution of his teacher Socrates in 399 in the newly restored democracy, which occurred as a result of Socrates' contacts with persons who were involved in the Mutilation of the Herms and the Profanation of the Mysteries in 415, in the oligarchic coup of 411 and above all in the tyranny of the Thirty.¹⁷ After the re-establishment of democracy in 403, Plato had begun his ‘second sailing’ in Athenian politics. However, this undertaking did not last long, and failed when Socrates was accused under the sham charge of impiety and sentenced to

¹² For the widely accepted ‘high dating’ of the establishment of Plato's Academy in 387/6, see, e.g., Erler 2007: 51; Nails 2002: 248, however, has argued for a ‘low dating’ in 383.

¹³ On the controversial questions regarding the authorship and the dating of the *Seventh Letter*, it suffices here to refer to the comprehensive overview by Erler 2007: 314–18. On the *Seventh Letter* in general, see Brisson 1993; Trampedach 1994: 255–77; Ober 1998: 162–5; Erler 2005; Irwin 2009; Burnyeat and Frede 2015.

¹⁴ See Davies 1971: 460 with 333–4 (APF 11855 with 8792, XI); for Plato's stemma, see Nails 2002: 244; Erler 2007: 42.

¹⁵ See Scholz 1998: 75–9; Haake 2009: 118. See in this context also Barthel 2008.

¹⁶ Pl. *Ep.* 324b–325a. On the rule of the Thirty, see Munn 2000: 218–44; Németh 2006.

¹⁷ See Haake 2009: 122; Filonik 2013: 52–7; Haake 2016: 209–11.

death in 399.¹⁸ These experiences under two different political systems resulted in Plato's awareness of the difficulties of managing state affairs justly, and of the corruption of politics in general. Finally, this led to his avoidance of any political activity in his home town (though not elsewhere¹⁹) and his orientation towards philosophy.²⁰ Thus far the *Seventh Letter* describes Plato's transition from *homo politicus* to an unworldly philosopher.

Of course, this narration is an uplifting and nice story, and it can be viewed as an early example of a 'story of conversion' of the sort which later, in the genre of biographies of philosophers, became a central element of a philosophical life.²¹ Like other stories of this type, the *Seventh Letter* contains some true aspects. However, it is the very nature of such stories that authors develop the central themes of their narratives with an eye to their own purposes. In the case of Plato and of his 'conversion to philosophy', this means: the tyranny of the Thirty and Socrates' way of death were, without any doubt, of fundamental importance for Plato's decision to lead a life apart from Athenian politics – a decision which made him a bad citizen from the standpoint of the ordinary Athenian, because he decided to neglect a cardinal virtue of the good citizen, namely to participate in politics, in common affairs.²² Nevertheless, Plato did not, or at least did not primarily, come to his decision because he had recognised that politics is a dirty deal, but rather because he himself was stigmatised by his connections to the Thirty and Socrates: from an Athenian point of view, this would have been a truly disastrous combination and a burden for any man dreaming of a political career.²³ This is especially true also because Plato's political attitude was rather anti-democratic²⁴ and his philosophical theories violated contemporary socially acceptable and common conceptions about political life in the Greek *polis*.²⁵

¹⁸ Pl. *Ep.* 325a–c. On Socrates' trial and execution, see Brickhouse and Smith 2002.

¹⁹ See Haake 2009: 118, n. 24.

²⁰ Pl. *Ep.* 325c–326b.

²¹ See Gigon 1946; Dumont 1987; Long 1993: 148; Scholz 1998: 50–1 with n. 140; Grau 2008; see also Eshleman 2007.

²² See in greater detail Haake 2009: 118–19, with reference to Th. 2.40.2.

²³ On 'crooks and traitors' among Socrates' friends, see Hansen 1995: 27–9; Chevitarese and Cornelli 2008; Haake 2009: 122.

²⁴ See Ober 1998: 156–247, 290–351; Haake 2009: 119–20.

²⁵ See especially Flaig 1994: 68–9; Trampedach 1994: 278–9. In this context, it is highly instructive to refer to the fragments of a most telling forensic speech by Demosthenes' nephew Demochares, delivered in 306/5 in the context of the legal process regarding the conformity of the so-called Law of Sophocles with Athenian legislation; see below, pp. 78–83.

In addition to his heterodox philosophical theories, Plato's double stigmatisation in the eyes of the Athenian public by his connections to the Thirty and Socrates can be instructively illustrated in a way by means of a passage from Aeschines' speech *Against Timarchus*, given in 346. There Aeschines invokes Socrates' case as follows:

So then, men of Athens, you put Socrates the sophist to death, because it was found that he had taught Critias, one of the Thirty who overthrew the democracy, [...].²⁶

Thus, in a forensic speech, even half a century after Socrates' death, Aeschines could still find political and juridical traction in appealing to the 'truest reason' behind the accusation and conviction of Socrates.²⁷ If this is true, how much more must Plato in the 390s and 380s have reasonably feared that, despite the amnesty of 403,²⁸ he would not be able to succeed politically in Athens due to his personal involvement in the rule of the Thirty and his personal relationship to Socrates?²⁹ That his 'care of the self' was not only limited to his political career, but affected even life and limb directly after Socrates' death, becomes apparent in his departure from Athens for some years in 399.³⁰ After staying for a while at Megara for his further 'apprenticeship', he set out on his 'philosophical journeyman's years' and undertook a 'grand tour' in the Mediterranean world, which is difficult to reconstruct.³¹

During the Corinthian War, in which he probably participated on the Athenians' side,³² Plato began to make a name for himself as a philosopher in the second half of the 390s by embarking on something that a number of other people from the former circle of Socrates had already

²⁶ Aeschin. 1.173 (transl. C. Carey): "Ἐπειθ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, Σωκράτην μὲν τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀπεκτείνετε, ὅτι Κριτίαν ἐφάνη πεπαιδευκῶς, ἕνα τῶν τριάκοντα τῶν τὸν δῆμον καταλυσάντων, [...]. See Haake 2009: 122.

²⁷ On Socrates' trial and its background, see Hansen 1995; Malitz 1995; Parker 1996: 199–217; Millett 2005; Cartledge 2009: 76–90; Haake 2009: 121–3; Nails 2009; Dreßler 2010: 113–34; Ober 2011: 138–48, 166–74; Carawan 2013: 203–31; Ismard 2013: 53–196; Lefka 2014: 103–6.

²⁸ On the amnesty of 403, see Flaig 1991; Loraux 2002: 145–69, 245–64; Teergarden 2014: 47–52. See Shear 2011: 188–312, on the aftermath of the tyranny of the Thirty on Athens in the late fifth and early fourth century.

²⁹ On politically motivated trials in the post-war period of the Peloponnesian War in Athens in general, see Wolpert 2002: 58–71; see also Haake 2009: 122–3.

³⁰ FGHist IVA Hermodorus of Syracuse 1008 F 1a+b = Hermod. Plat. fr. 1–2 Isnardi Parente² *ap.* D.L. 2.106, 3.6.

³¹ On Plato's 'years of travel' after Socrates' death, see Erler 2007: 46–9.

³² On Plato's participation in the Corinthian War and the confused relevant ancient sources, see Riginos 1976: 51–2; Brisson 1992: 3644–5; Erler 2007: 48; Dillon 2012a: 284–5. If Plato served during the Corinthian War, he might have had the hope not only to fulfil his duty, but also to demonstrate his allegiance to his native city.

done: writing *Sōkratikoí logoi*.³³ These literary texts were part of a highly agonistic and polemic dispute in the still arising philosophical field, in which former followers of Socrates, by drawing on the authoritative resource of Socrates himself, competed in terms of 'pegging out claims' for the establishment of their own philosophical schools.³⁴ However, Plato not only wrote with a sharp pen in the intra-Socratic 'wars of the Diadochi', but he also displaced rivalling conceptions of philosophy from the field that was to become – very essentially due to Plato – philosophy in the proper sense.³⁵

When Plato established his philosophical school in the setting of the Academy after his return from his first journey to Sicily in 388/7,³⁶ his choice of a gymnasium as a place for philosophical teaching was no novelty, but indeed a well-established practice. For example, Socrates liked philosophising in the Lyceum, Antisthenes instructed his pupils in the Cynosarges from around 400, and Plato himself had occasionally taught in the gymnasium of the Academy before his first journey to Sicily.³⁷ However, there is a decisive difference between the Academy and other – earlier as well as contemporary – philosophical, sophistic and even rhetorical schools in Athens, a difference which made Plato's Academy a model for most of the later establishments of philosophical schools: the institutional structure of the Academy, which would also become of central importance for its continued existence after the founder's death in 348/7, and which was wholly unparalleled in the Athenian history of philosophy before Plato.³⁸ This institutional character of the Academy

³³ See Erler 2007: 48–9. The term *Sōkratikoí logoi* was coined by Arist. *Po.* 1147b11; see Schofield 2008: 36–7. On the 'Socratic Literature', see, e.g., Erler 2007: 66–8; Notomi 2008: 362–6.

³⁴ In this context, see Azoulay 2007: 175–93, on the emergence of the 'intellectual field'; see also Wareh 2012: 7–9. On the agonal moment of Greek philosophy, see Gehrke 2004: 478–9; Azoulay 2009b: 305–10; see also Collins 1998, 80–109.

³⁵ A telling example in this respect is Isocrates, who represented a completely different conception of philosophy and who was the founder of a school of 'rhetorical sophistic' (Erler 2007: 49) around 390 as well – at least according mainly to the later tradition – and a former companion of Socrates, too. See Rudberg 1924; Erbse 1971; Speyer 2001: 91, on Plato and Isocrates. On Isocrates' concept of philosophy, especially, but by no means exclusively or exhaustively as it is set forth in Isoc. *Paneg.* 47, see Eucken 1983; see Morgan 2004 on Plato's and Isocrates' concepts of 'the education of Athens'. On Isocrates as a follower of Socrates, see Nails 2002: 180.

³⁶ On Plato's first Sicilian journey, see Trampedach 1994: 105–7.

³⁷ See Delorme 1960: 54–5 (Socrates: *Pl. Ly.* 203a; *Euthd.* 271a), 58 (Antisthenes: *D.L.* 6.1). Scholz 1998: 14–15 interprets the choice of the philosophers to instruct in the Athenian gymnasia as an indication of their ambivalent relation to the public. However, this choice was rather due to the fact that the gymnasia were generally not only an important element of the *polis* life, but specifically also one of the central leisurely meeting places for the male members of the Athenian elite, the main addressees of the philosophers.

³⁸ On the dissolution of Socrates' circle after his death, see, e.g., Watts 2007: 107–8.

manifests itself on three levels.³⁹ First, on a legal level: even if the Academy was, contrary to a widespread assumption in modern research, not a cultic association, or *thiasos*,⁴⁰ it had, nevertheless, an associational character: with good reason, the Academy can be subsumed under the *koinōniai*, the voluntary or – less appropriately – non-public or private associations.⁴¹ This means that the Academy ‘had no formal (i.e. constitutional) affiliation to the *polis*,’ but ‘remained subject to *polis* law’.⁴² Plato was most likely the first in Athens to organise his school along these associational lines. Second, on an organisational level: on the one hand, and perhaps due to the legal character of his foundation, Plato established an ‘administrative’ hierarchy by inventing the function of the scholarch as head of school. On the other hand, Plato ensured that his school had an infrastructure which was separate from the place where he often taught: his private grounds with its modest building structure in close vicinity to the Academy.⁴³ Third, on a social level: possibly on the basis of his familiarity with Pythagorean groups in southern Italy, Plato arranged a set of social practices to foster the common identity of those who philosophised in his school; amongst these practices common banquets and sacrifices to the Muses and Apollo should be emphasised.⁴⁴ In addition, as outstanding markers for the school’s identity one might refer to the setting up of a portrait of Socrates, the so-called type A, in the house on the school grounds,⁴⁵ as well as to Plato’s burial in his garden after the manner of a *hērōs ktistēs*.⁴⁶

The development of a strong group identity in connection with the allegedly and actually anti-democratic and oligarchic attitude of most of

³⁹ In this context, see Lynch 1972: 60–3; see also Haake 2015: 62–78.

⁴⁰ On philosophical schools as *thiasoi*, see most importantly Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1881: 63–91; Boyancé 1936: 231–327. Against this view, Lynch 1972: 108–27 is essential. He is of the opinion that ‘private organizations [...] detached from governmental regulation’ without any ‘official legal status at all’ and ‘secular organizations formed for an educational purpose’; see Lynch 1972: 130, 129, 128. Whereas Glucker 1978: 229–30, and Habicht 1994: 232, comment affirmatively on Lynch’s approach, Isnardi Parente 1986: 352–7; Natali 1991: 100–4, and Dorandi 1999b: 54–5, remains sceptical. For a recent overview, see Ismard 2010: 186–7. For the present author’s point of view, see Haake 2008: 103–5; Haake 2015: 62–73.

⁴¹ See Jones 1999: 227–34; see approvingly Gabrielsen 2009: 184 with 195, n. 48.

⁴² So Gabrielsen 2009: 179.

⁴³ On Plato’s garden, his supposedly little house, and the Mouseion, see Scholz 1998: 15–6; Döring 2008: 257–69; Caruso 2013: 43–53.

⁴⁴ In this context, see Erler 2007: 53–4; see Horky 2013a: 96–122, on the internal structures of Pythagorean groups in Southern Italy.

⁴⁵ On the so-called type A of the portrait of Socrates, see Scheibler 1989; Voutiras 1994; Zanker 1995: 32–9; Giuliani 1998. See also Longo Auricchio 2008.

⁴⁶ On Plato’s burial place, which in the ancient sources is only imprecisely indicated (Paus. 1.30.3; D.L. 3.41), see the compelling arguments of Billot 1989: 786; Döring 2008: 262–3.

the members of the Academy, who generally originated from the social upper stratum, as well as with their personal networks of relationships beyond the framework of the *polis*, almost inevitably resulted in the perception of the Academy as a *hetaireia*, a politically dubious and socially exclusive club, by the Athenian public.⁴⁷ That this hypothesis is not merely a modern reconstruction, but an already contemporary accusation, is shown both by Plato's almost obsessive emphasis on his own idea of a philosophical *hetaireia* throughout his oeuvre⁴⁸ and by the insistent denial of the existence of a Platonic *hetaireia* in the classical sense by the author of the Platonic *Seventh Letter*.⁴⁹

Against a long established and still prevalent scholarly view, recent scholarship has rightly emphasised that the Platonic Academy never was, either during Plato's lifetime or in the following centuries, a political cell that pursued a specific political agenda; it never realises Platonic ideas in the sphere of politics.⁵⁰ Assumptions about the coherence of an Academic political policy, which in any case would have been scarcely compatible with basic structures of the political field in the Greek world,⁵¹ can be disproved by a careful analysis of the historical evidence.⁵² Yet such assumptions would also run contrary to a crucial characteristic of Greek philosophy: namely, that of the radical dissociation of the world of *theōria* from the practical environment. This implies that the intention of realisation did not appertain to philosophical concepts.⁵³ However, it would be wrong to see the Academy as only a community indulging in the *bios theōrētikos*, whose members had renounced every form of political activity.⁵⁴ Indeed, members of the Academy from Plato to Philo of Larissa's pupil Antiochus of Ascalon were heavily involved in political activities – not, however, in order to put philosophical theories into

⁴⁷ See Haake 2009: 121, 127.

⁴⁸ See Vegetti 2004: 50. On Plato's concepts of *hetaireiai*, see generally Sartori 1958.

⁴⁹ See, e.g., Pl. *Ep.* 325d1–2.

⁵⁰ On the Academy as political cell, see, e.g., Wörle 1981; Vatai 1984: 63–98 with 150–60. See also Chroust 1967; Saunders 1986; Vegetti 2004: esp. 78–81.

⁵¹ This is especially true with regard to the lack of any form of something comparable to a party politics; see the applicable observations of Finley 1962: 15, in relation to Athens; see now also the lucid remarks of Luraghi 2014 [2016]: 200–3.

⁵² See essentially Brunt 1993: 282–332; Trampedach 1994: 11–149. See also Schofield 2000.

⁵³ See concisely Gotter 2003: 175; Haake 2013a: 85–6. See also Gehrke 1998: 100–2; Gehrke 2004: 478–9; Haake 2009: 130. Also of interest is Argyropoulos 2013, written, however, in closer accordance with the sources than with any analytical approach.

⁵⁴ In this context, it is important to underline that the bipolar and antithetical construct of a *bios theōrētikos* or *philosophikos* and a *bios praktikos* or *politikos* is a theoretical concept, but not a guideline for practical life. On the *bios theōrētikos*, see, e.g., Scholz 1998: 125–31; Fadda 2002; Grilli 2002: 13–42; Scholz 2006; Bénatouil and Bonazzi 2012.

practice, but to accommodate specific relationships with individuals and political circumstances, which were generally determined by social origin, friendship or inclusion in the international 'networks' that sometimes originated from a shared past in the Academy. Nevertheless, while this specifically applies to those associates of the Academy who joined this institution only temporarily, the 'outer circle', it also holds true for the 'proper' philosophers who spent most of their life in the Academy, the 'inner circle'.⁵⁵

This observation raises the question of just which people attended Plato's Academy and spent time with him. Even though there were no access limitations and no fees to pay,⁵⁶ with the exception of two women,⁵⁷ the Academy under Plato was a socially exclusive establishment for male members of the upper classes of the Greek cities around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Whereas the 'inner circle' was dominated by elderly men, the 'outer circle' consisted primarily of young men. What both groups had in common was their economic affluence, which enabled them to spend their time on something without direct utility, thus, to enjoy (publicly) their leisure, *scholē*.⁵⁸ In short: philosophy was in general a social practice of the male Greek elite, a component of the ideal type of a man of honour and manners.⁵⁹

5.3 Laughing about Plato: The Academy on Stage

With the statement that Plato had been made the object of ridicule by comic poets, Diogenes Laertius introduces a long passage in his *Life of Plato*⁶⁰ that enumerates a whole range of comic fragments making fun of the founder of the Academy.⁶¹ In addition to Diogenes Laertius, Athenaeus in the *Learned Banqueters* also quotes a number of comic fragments concerning the Academy.⁶² These fragments, which originate in lost plays by authors of Middle Comedy, show that Plato and his

⁵⁵ See Trampedach 1994: 146–7; Baltes 1996: 10–11, who holds as a basic principle a very positive view of the Academy, which often results in unsustainable examinations of the ancient sources; Scholz 1998: 21–3. On the 'outer circle', see also Haake 2009: 127–31.

⁵⁶ On the fees, see Krämer 2004: 4–5.

⁵⁷ On the two women, see Dorandi 1989; Scholz 1998: 36–7.

⁵⁸ See Haake 2009: 132 with reference to Weber 1972: 170, 546 (see now Weber 2013: 576), relating to the term of availability, and with reference to Veblen 1986: 51–78, regarding the concept of leisure.

⁵⁹ In this context, see Haake 2009: 132–5.

⁶⁰ D.L. 3.26. For the following considerations, see Haake 2009: 124–7.

⁶¹ D.L. 3.26–8; see Brisson 1992: 3668–71. On Plato in comedy, see, e.g., Helm 1906: 375–9; Weiher 1914: 45–55; Weiher 1929; Stark 1972: 74–6.

⁶² See Lukinovich 1983; Trapp 2000; see also Haake 2007: 4–5.

disciples attracted considerable Athenian public attention in the decades after the foundation of the Academy, chiefly due to their disposition as targets for comic poets.

Since the days of Old Comedy, 'intellectuals' had been among the subjects of mockery in Attic comedy,⁶³ and the figure of the philosopher in particular enjoyed great popularity among playwrights and thus also with the Athenian audience.⁶⁴ The comic figure of Socrates had been of central importance for the construction of the figure of the philosopher in comedy.⁶⁵ Thus, the comic poets could already draw on an established model for the members of the Academy in order to stage them appropriately as 'laughing stocks'.

Key to these caricatures was the unworldliness ascribed to the philosophers and the eccentricity of their discussions, which to a certain extent make the philosophers appear as inhabitants of cloud cuckoo land. This image of the Academy occurs in a fragment of an unknown play by Epicrates:⁶⁶

(A.) What about Plato
and Speusippus and Menedemus?
What's occupying their time nowadays?
What deep thoughts, what sort of speculation is under investigation at
their establishment?
Give me an insightful account of these matters,
if you've come with any knowledge of them, by Earth!
(B.) I know enough to give you a clear report about this;
because during the Panathenaic festival, I saw a herd of young men
in the exercise grounds of the Academy,
and I listened to unspeakably strange discussions.⁶⁷

The unworldliness of the philosophers – basically a consequence of their economic independence – comes with a propensity for arrogance, which expresses itself in a specific facial expression: the contraction of the brows.⁶⁸ This can be inferred from a short fragment of Amphis' comedy

⁶³ See Imperio 1998. On 'Aristophanes and the intellectuals', see Zimmermann 1993.

⁶⁴ See already and still Weiher 1914; see also Hošek 1991; Konstan 2014.

⁶⁵ On the figure of Socrates in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, see Dover 1968: xxxii–lvii; MacDowell 1995: 130–6. See Patzer 1994 on the figure of Socrates in the fragments of Old Comedy.

⁶⁶ On this passage from another point of view, however, see Baltes 1996: 14–15; Scholz 1998: 16, n. 14.

⁶⁷ *PCG* V Epicr. fr. 10 ap. Ath. 2.59d (transl. S. D. Olson). For the Greek text of the passage, see below, Section C in the Appendix to J. Glucker's paper.

⁶⁸ On the contraction of the brows as a typical element of the facial play of philosophers, see, e.g., Giuliani 1986: 134–40; von den Hoff 1994: esp. 28–33, 189–94.

Deximenides:⁶⁹ ‘O Plato, all you know is how to frown with eyebrows lifted high like any snail.’⁷⁰ A different aspect of the presentation of philosophers on the comic stage, also strongly connected with arrogance, was their elitist habit of self-presentation, which manifested itself in expensive clothing, very neat hair, well-looked-after beard style and affected body control.⁷¹ Two fragments of Ephippus and Antiphanes instructively demonstrate this stereotype. First, the partially corrupt fragment from Ephippus’ *The Shipwreck Victim*:⁷²

Then a sharp young man stood up,
someone from the Academy who’d studied with Plato and
was driven by the need for Brysono-Thrasymachian-
money-grubbing, an individual familiar with the trick
[corrupt] and incapable of saying anything unconsidered.
His hair was carefully trimmed with a razor;
his beard hung carefully down, heavy and untrimmed;
his feet were carefully set in sandals [corrupt]
with twisted straps of equal length around his shins;
his chest was carefully wrapped in a heavy robe;
and he leaned his handsome frame on a staff
and made a speech composed, in my opinion, by someone
other than himself: ‘Men of the land of Athens’.⁷³

⁶⁹ On this passage, see Scholz 1998: 27; Haake 2009: 126–7.

⁷⁰ *PCG* II Amphis *fr.* 13 *ap.* D.L. 3.28 (transl. R. D. Hicks):

ὦ Πλάτων,
ὡς οὐδὲν οἶσθα πλὴν σκυθρωπάζειν μόνον,
ὥσπερ κοχλίας σεμνῶς ἐπηρκῶς τὰς ὀφρῦς.

⁷¹ See Haake 2009: 125–7, with further references.

⁷² On this passage, see Scholz 1998: 26; Haake 2009: 125.

⁷³ *PCG* V Ephipp. *fr.* 14 *ap.* Ath. 11.509c–e (transl. S. D. Olson):

ἔπειτ’ ἀναστὰς εὖστοχος νεανίας
τῶν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας τις ὑπὸ Πλάτωνα καὶ
Βρυσωνοθρασυμαχειοληψικερμάτων
πληγείς ἀνάγκη, † λιπιγομίσθω † τέχνη |
συνών τις, οὐκ ἄσκειπτα δυνάμενος λέγειν, d
εὖ μὲν μαχαίρα ξύστ’ ἔχων τριχώματα,
εὖ δ’ ὑποκαθίεις ἄτομα πώγωνος βάθη,
εὖ δ’ ἐν πεδίλῳ πόδα τιθεῖς † ὑπὸ ξυρόν †
κνήμης ἱμάντων ἰσομέτροις ἐλίγμασιν,
ὄγκω τε χλανίδος εὖ τεθωρακισμένος,
σχῆμ’ ἀξιόχρεων ἐπικαθεῖς βακτηρίᾳ,
ἀλλόττριον, οὐκ οἰκεῖον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, |
ἔλεξεν· “ἄνδρες τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονός. e

Second, the following likewise partially corrupt dialogue fragment is taken from Antiphanes' *Antaeus*:⁷⁴

(A.) Sir – who do you think this old man is?
(B.) He's Greek, by the looks of him:
a white mantle, a nice little grey cloak;
a small, soft felt cap; an elegant staff;
† a secure table †. Why should I go on at length? I think
I'm seeing the Academy itself, pure and simple.⁷⁵

A passage from Theophrastus' *Characters* also demonstrates what type of person the comic poets were hoping to evoke for the theatre audience:⁷⁶ 'He goes out at midday and struts about dressed in his cloak, with his hair trimmed and his nails carefully pared, declaiming melodramatically ...'.⁷⁷ The type characterised in this way is none other than the oligarch.⁷⁸

Assuming that it was one function of comedy to mock well-known people, not primarily in order to attack them, 'but rather to mark them out as transgressing norms and, thereby, to validate these very norms in front of the largest group of citizens imaginable',⁷⁹ the quoted passages show that, from the perspective of the Athenian *polis* public, philosophers from Plato's school were considered with a high degree of scepticism around the mid fourth century because they were viewed as not fully attached to the social norms and values of the Athenian *cosmos*.⁸⁰

The following considerations will develop these thoughts further by means of an instructive example.

⁷⁴ See Scholz 1998: 26; Haake 2009: 125–6, on this passage.

⁷⁵ *PCG* II Antiph. *fr.* 35 *ap.* Ath. 12.544f–545a (transl. S. D. Olson):

(A.) ὦ τάν, κατανοεῖς τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν οὗτοσι
ὁ γέρων; (B.) ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν ὄψεως Ἑλληνικός·||
λευκὴ χλανίς, φαιὸς χιτωνίσκος καλός, 545
πιλίδιον ἀπαλόν, εὐρυθμός βακτηρία,
† βεβαία τράπεζα. † τί μακρὰ δεῖ λέγειν; ὅλως
αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν γάρ τήν Ἀκαδημίαν δοκῶ.

⁷⁶ On the quoted passage, see Diggle 2004: 469–70.

⁷⁷ Thphr. *Char.* 26.4 (transl. J. Diggle): καὶ τὸ μέσον δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξιὼν [καὶ] τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀναβεβλημένος καὶ μέσσην κουράν κεκαρμένος καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀπωνυχισμένος σοβεῖν τοιοῦτους λόγους τραγωιδῶν [...].

⁷⁸ See Stein 1992: 250–2; Leppin 2002: 47–8; Haake 2009: 126.

⁷⁹ See Asper 2005: 20; see also Haake 2009: 124–5.

⁸⁰ In this context, it is important to underline the importance of politics in Middle Comedy; see Webster 1970: 24–50; Nesselrath 1997: 272–7.

5.4 Something to Do with the Academy: The So-Called Law of Sophocles and the Philosophers' Exodus from Athens

Is this the Academy? Is this Xenocrates?
 May the gods confer many blessings on Demetrius [i.e., Demetrius Poliorcetes]
 and our legislators, since they're telling these people
 who are able to bestow verbal power on our young men –
 or so they say – to get the hell out of Attica!⁸¹

At the beginning of the year 306, probably at the Dionysia or the Lenaea, the Athenian audience listened to these verses from Alexis' comedy *The Knight* in the Theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus.⁸² Even if its content cannot be deduced even rudimentarily, it is beyond doubt that this fragment alludes to the Law of Sophocles passed by the Athenians in 307/6.⁸³ This law, which goes back to the proposal of an otherwise unknown Sophocles,⁸⁴ dictated that no philosopher be allowed to run a school in Athens without permission from the Council and the Assembly;⁸⁵ in

⁸¹ PCG II Alex. fr. 99 ap. Ath. 13.610e (transl. S. D. Olson):

τοῦτ' ἔστιν Ἀκαδήμεια, τοῦτο Ξενοκράτης;
 πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ δοῖεν οἱ θεοὶ Δημητρίῳ
 καὶ τοῖς νομοθέταις, διότι τοὺς τὰς τῶν λόγων,
 ὥς φασι, δυνάμεις παραδιδόντας τοῖς νέοις
 ἐς κόρακας ἐρρίψασιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

See Arnott 1996: 262–5 *ad loc.*; see also Scholz 1998: 49–50. The following considerations are based on Haake 2007: 16–43; Haake 2008.

⁸² On the date of the comedy, see Arnott 1996: 858–9. For an interpretation of these lines against the historical background of the comedy, see Haake 2007: 24–8; Haake 2008: 89–94. The interpretation of Alexis' *The Knight* as suggested in the references mentioned as well as here is based on the assumption that politics is present and negotiated in the New Comedy. In this respect, see the general statements of Carrière 1979: 149–50; Luraghi 2012: 372.

⁸³ See Arnott 1996: 261–2.

⁸⁴ See Kirchner, *PA* II, 265 no. 12835; LGPN II, s.v. Σοφοκλῆς (22); Traill, *PAA* 15, no. 829235.

⁸⁵ The exact content and intention of the Law of Sophocles are difficult to reconstruct since the relevant ancient sources differ in this regard; in addition to the quoted passage from Alexis' *The Knight* there are these short passages from Athenaeus (Ath. 13.610e–f [transl. S. D. Olson]: καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ τις ψηφίσματι ἐξήλασε πάντας ἰ φιλοσόφους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, [...] – 'A certain Sophocles also proposed a decree that expelled all philosophers from Attika; [...]'), Diogenes Laertius (5.38 [transl. R. D. Hicks]: τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν, ὅμως πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀπεδήμησε καὶ οὗτος καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ φιλόσοφοι, Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Ἀμφικλείδου νόμον εἰσενεγκόντος μηδένα τῶν φιλοσόφων σχολῆς ἀφηγεῖσθαι ἂν μὴ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δόξη· εἰ δὲ μή, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. – 'Although his [i.e., Theophrastus'] reputation stood so high, nevertheless for a short period of time he had to leave the country with all the other philosophers, when Sophocles the son of Amphicleides proposed a law that no philosopher should preside over a school except by permission of the Council and the Assembly, under the penalty of death.'), and Pollux (Poll. 9.42: ἔστι δὲ καὶ νόμος Ἀττικὸς κατὰ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων γραφεὶς, ὃν Σοφοκλῆς Ἀμφικλείδου Σουινεύς

consequence, it led to a temporary exodus of the philosophers from Athens 'to hell'.⁸⁶ What caused this further Athenian 'lapse' regarding philosophers? Once more, it had to do with politics.

In the summer of 307 yet another political change took place in early Hellenistic Athens: after Demetrius Poliorcetes had been able to expel the 'statesman and philosopher' Demetrius of Phalerum and the Macedonian garrison, he restored by order of his father Antigonos Monophthalmus *autonomia* and *eleutheria* for the Athenians. The oligarchic regime of Cassander's 'satrap',⁸⁷ enforced by Macedonian *sarissas*, was changed into a democracy.⁸⁸ Demetrius and Antigonos made a number of promises of typical benefactions, but their restoration of the *patrios politeia* was the main reason for which the Athenians passed a considerable number of high honours for both father and son.⁸⁹ However, the new constitutional

εἶπεν, ἐν ᾧ τινὰ κατὰ αὐτῶν προειπῶν ἐπήγαγε μὴ ἐξεῖναι μηδενὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν διατριβὴν κατὰσκευάσασθαι. – 'But there exists also an Attic law written down against those who are philosophising, that Sophocles, son of Amphicleides, from Sounion proposed, in which he moved, with a speech against them, that it should not be permitted any sophist to establish a school.' On the Law of Sophocles, see Haake 2007: 20–9; Haake 2008: 94–7. See also Korhonen 1997: 75–84; O'Sullivan 2002. On the legal character of the Law of Sophocles, see Canevaro 2011 [2013]: 75–7.

⁸⁶ See, e.g., Haake 2007: 29.

⁸⁷ The official function of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens between 317/6 and 307/6 and his respective title are much debated topics. By reason of the different statements of ancient authors in the relevant literary sources (Dem. Phal. fr. 104 Stork, van Ophuijsen and Dorandi *ap.* Plut. *Arist.* 27.5: *nomothetēs*; Plb. 12.13.9: *prostatēs*; D.S. 20.45.2: *epimelētēs*; D.S. 20.45.5: *epistatēs*; Str. 9.1.20: ἐπέστησε; Paus. 1.25.6: *tyrannos*; Polyæn. 4.7.6: *stratēgos*; Sync., p. 331.6–7 Mosshammer: *nomothetēs*), which are, at least partially, caused by their diverging intentions, a final solution is hard to achieve. The whole topic does not become easier since the principally best testimony, an honorary decree of the Attic deme of Aixone for Demetrius of Phalerum, *IG II² 1201*, is very fragmentary and the crucial piece is lost. Thus, the restoration of the relevant passage in lines 11–12 ([- - - αἰ]ρεθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ τοῦ Ἀθ]ηναίων (...)] – 'having been elected [- - -] by the people of the Athenians [...]') is still an unsolved question; of the various discussed restorations, the most favoured ones are *stratēgos*, *nomothetēs* and *epimelētēs*; see the considerations of Dow and Travis 1943: 149–56. To refer only to recent scholarship (with references to earlier scholarship): resting upon Tracy 1995: 171–4, it is possible to exclude the restoration of *stratēgos* (see also Haake 2007: 73–4); of the remaining two possibilities, Haake 2007: 65, 74–5, and Banfi 2010: 53–68, esp. 57–63, favour Wilhelm's restoration of *epimelētēs* (Wilhelm 1903: 784), whereas O'Sullivan 2009: 96–8, Bayliss 2011: 78–9, and Canevaro 2011 [2013]: 64–6, opt for the restoration of *nomothetēs* that was first suggested by Dow and Travis 1943: 153–6.

⁸⁸ On the whole topic, see, e.g., Billows 1990: 147–51; Habicht 2006: 84–93; Bayliss 2011: 119–28. See also Bringmann and von Steuben 1995: 28–9 KNR: 9 [L]. For a classification of the Demetrian political order of Athens not as oligarchy but as democracy according to the 'Periclean model', see O'Sullivan 2009: 105–63. See, however, Bayliss 2011: 77–80, who defends the traditional view that the period between 317/16 and 307/6 in Athens should be characterised as oligarchic. However that might be, in the current context it is far more important that the decennium between 317/16 and 307/6 could be plausibly demonised after Demetrius' expulsion from Athens as oligarchy, indeed, even as a tyrannical regime; see below, p. 80.

⁸⁹ See the by now classic remarks by Habicht 1970: 44–8 (= Habicht 2017: 31–4). See also Mikalson 1998: 76–86; Kotsidu 2000: 33–8 KNR: 9 [L]; Paschidis 2013: 121–6.

order did not only lead to massive political activity in the Assembly, which is reflected in a massive number of decrees;⁹⁰ the events also resulted in a reckoning with actual and supposed collaborators of Demetrius of Phalerum, such as the New comic playwright Menander and the logographer Dinarchus of Corinth.⁹¹ As the Atthidographer Philochorus puts it in the eighth book of his *Attic History*:⁹²

But later many of the citizens were impeached, and Demetrius of Phalerum was one of these. And of the men impeached, those who did not await the verdict of a trial they condemned to death by decree, but those who submitted they set free.

From the perspective of democratic and anti-Macedonian Athenian partisans, one group almost inevitably had to become the focus of attention after the expulsion of Demetrius of Phalerum: the philosophers. This, however, did not happen, because Demetrius had been ‘the first actual governing “philosopher king”’,⁹³ who had tried to realise philosophical theories during his one decade-long ‘reign’.⁹⁴ The image of Demetrius as a philosopherstatesman who put philosophy into practice is doubtlessly a literary invention: it can be traced back to none other than Demetrius himself, who, after 307/6, intended to portray himself in a number of apologetic texts as a failed philosopher king.⁹⁵ By means of these texts he reacted, at least partially, to various severe direct or indirect allegations made against him, in words and in deeds, after his expulsion from Athens, when he was branded as a philo-Macedonian traitor to his fatherland, an enemy of the constitution, an oligarch and even a tyrant.⁹⁶ Against this background, why and in which way did the philosophers become involved in the reckoning with the Phalerean regime? Why was the Law of Sophocles passed?

⁹⁰ See Hedrick 2000; Tracy 2000b; Habicht 2006: 89–90.

⁹¹ See Haake 2007: 18–19; Haake 2008: 92–4.

⁹² FGrHist 328 Philochorus *F* 66 = *BNJ* 328 *F* 66 = Philoch. *F* 66 Costa *ap.* D.H. *Din.* 3 (transl. S. Usher): ὕστερον δὲ εἰσγγελέθησαν πολλοὶ <τῶν> πολιτῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς, τῶν δ' εἰσαγγελέντων οὓς μὲν οὐχ ὑπομείναντας τὴν κρίσιν ἐθανάτωσαν τῇ ψήφῳ, οὓς δ' ὑπακούσαντας ἀπέλυσαν. On this passage, see Haake 2007: 19, n. 24; see also the respective commentaries by F. Jacoby, N. F. Jones, and V. Costa *ad loc.*

⁹³ The quotation is taken from Wood and Wood 1978: 249. In this context, see Haake 2007: 61, n. 207.

⁹⁴ On the Demetrian decade of Athenian history, a much and controversially debated topic, see basically Gehrke 1978; see also Lehmann 1997: 62–85; Williams 1997; Gagarin 2000; Tracy 2000a; Habicht 2006: 71–84; Haake 2007: 67–70; Liddel 2007: 92–3; O'Sullivan 2009: 43–318; Banfi 2010; Bayliss 2011: 63–8, 73–4, 77–93; Van Wees 2011: 95–8, 101–7; Canevaro 2011 [2013]: 63–9; Faraguna 2016; Saldutti 2019.

⁹⁵ See Haake 2007: 78–82.

⁹⁶ See Haake 2007: 79–80; Azoulay 2009a: 310–38.

Even though Demetrius' regime had nothing to do with a large-scale experiment in realising philosophical ideas, Demetrius' connections with the philosophical scene in Athens did have to do with the Law of Sophocles. These connections become most evident in Demetrius' close relationship with Theophrastus of Eresus,⁹⁷ who had been head of the Peripatus since Aristotle's death in 322, and who was anything but well-reputed in the Athenian public, as a charge of impiety against him in 318/17 indicates.⁹⁸ However, the friendship between Demetrius and Theophrastus in particular and Demetrius' connections with the philosophical scene in general might have been the motive for the Law of Sophocles, but not its 'truest explanation' in a Thucydidean sense.⁹⁹ The 'truest explanation' lies in a well-established and widespread perception of philosophers in fourth-century Athens: the philosopher as an oligarch, as a friend of tyrants, as a philo-Macedonian, thus, as an enemy of democracy and of the *polis* of Athens.¹⁰⁰ Against this background, it was possible in the politically heated atmosphere of 307/6 to pass a law, namely the Law of Sophocles, which was directed against the philosophers, who were stigmatised as a 'fifth column' of the Macedonians, and thus as oligarchic adversaries of the democratic constitution. That the philosophers left Athens in fear of their lives is no surprise, given the historical circumstances after the expulsion of Demetrius of Phalerum and the Macedonian garrison.¹⁰¹

One could argue, however, that although this scenario might help to explain why philosophers were brought onstage by Alexis, it fails to

⁹⁷ More important than the difficulty of evaluating the pupil-teacher relationship between Demetrius of Phalerum and Theophrastus (see Haake 2007: 70–1) is Demetrius' support of Theophrastus when the Peripatetic scholar acquired property in Athens; this was in principle impossible due to Theophrastus' legal status as a metic; see Adak 2003: 108; Haake 2008: 99.

⁹⁸ Thphr. *fr.* 1 Fortenbaugh, Huby, Sharples and Gutas *ap.* D.L. 5.37. On the charge of *asebeia* against Theophrastus, see Derenne 1930: 199–201; Bauman 1990: 122–3; O'Sullivan 1997: 136–9; Scholz 1998: 187–8; Mari 2003: 87–8; Haake 2008: 99–100; Haake 2009: 123–4; Filonik 2013: 73; Haake 2016: 216–17.

⁹⁹ But see O'Sullivan 2002: 260, who believes that Theophrastus' purchase of land was – since it does not conform with Athenian law – indeed the reason for the Law of Sophocles.

¹⁰⁰ See, e.g., Haake 2008: 99–100.

¹⁰¹ Whereas Canevaro 2011 [2013]: 77–8, esp. 77, n. 74, is of the opinion that according to Alexis (*PCG* II Alex. *fr.* 99.2–3 *ap.* Ath. 13.610e) 'Demetrius [i.e., Poliorcetes] is directly connected to the law of Sophocles as one of those who wanted it', Haake 2008: 96, assumes that Demetrius is mentioned 'as the man who restored democracy and made discussion of such a law possible' (so Canevaro 2011 [2013]: 77, n. 74). Despite Canevaro's explanations, I am still of the opinion that even though the Law of Sophocles was certainly not moved for against the will of Demetrius Poliorcetes, it was the Athenian anti-Phalerean, democratic partisans who were the prime movers in the procedure against the philosophers in Athens. Otherwise, it would be more difficult to explain the abolishment of the Law of Sophocles one year after it had been passed.

elucidate the particular reference to Xenocrates of Chalcedon, the former Academic scholarch who had died in 314/13, and who supposedly left the Academy only once a year on the occasion of the Dionysia to see the plays performed in the Theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus at the very centre of Athens.¹⁰² Yet, there are three reasons why it did make sense for Alexis to mention Xenocrates in *The Knight*. The first has to do with the general image of this philosopher as a philo-Macedonian partisan: Xenocrates had written a treatise *On Kingship*, which he dedicated to Alexander,¹⁰³ and he may also have had personal relations with Antipater.¹⁰⁴ Suspicion of his being a philo-Macedonian and oligarchic partisan was furthermore fostered by the occurrences in the course of the second Athenian embassy to Antipater in 322 consisting of Phocion, Demades, Demetrius of Phalerum and Xenocrates:¹⁰⁵ this embassy, a congregation of rather dubious characters from the Athenian point of view in 307/6, had to negotiate the terms of Athens' surrender after the defeat of the city and its allies in the Hellenic or Lamian War in the late summer of 322.¹⁰⁶ The results of these negotiations, in which Xenocrates played a questionable role,¹⁰⁷ were, amongst other things, some territorial loss, the stationing of a Macedonian garrison in the Piraeus and the extradition of the leading anti-Macedonian politicians, as well as the establishment of a new political order in Athens: an oligarchy.¹⁰⁸ Third and last, but by no

¹⁰² Xenocr. Phil. test. 28 Isnardi Parente² ap. Plut. *Mor.* 603b–c.

¹⁰³ On Xenocrates' treatise *On Kingship*, of which no fragment has survived, see Haake 2003: 112–13, n. 23; Haake 2013b: 168–9. This text was written in competition with Aristotle's treatise *On Kingship*, the very first specimen of this literary genre and likewise dedicated to Alexander.

¹⁰⁴ See Gehrke 1976: 88, n. 14; Trampedach 1994: 141; Scholz 1998: 157, n. 115.

¹⁰⁵ On this embassy, see Whitehead 1981: 238–41; Trampedach 1994: 141–3; Sonnabend 1996: 98–126; Korhonen 1997: 43–5; Scholz 1998: 195–9; Brun 2000: 113–18; Poddighe 2002: 33–7; Dillon 2003: 91–4; Paschidis 2008: 41–3 (Demades), 49–51 (Phocion), 58 (Demetrius of Phalerum), 65–7 (Xenocrates).

¹⁰⁶ On the situation of Athens in the late summer and early autumn of 322, see, e.g., Schmitt 1992: 147–8; Habicht 2006: 58–9.

¹⁰⁷ The image of Xenocrates' role in this embassy is confused since the literary sources (Xenocr. Phil. test. 41–5 Isnardi Parente²), comprising a tradition hostile to Xenocrates (Dem. Phal. fr. 131A Stork, van Ophuijsen and Dorandi ap. Phld. *Rh.* I, p. 350 [PHerc. 1004, col. LV 3–16] Sudhaus; Dem. Phal. fr. 131B Stork, van Ophuijsen and Dorandi ap. Crönert 1906: 67 [PHerc. 453, fr. 4.1–16]; Dem. Phal. fr. *131C Stork, van Ophuijsen and Dorandi ap. Phld. *Rh.* 2, p. 173 [fr. XII 1–12] Sudhaus) and a tradition favourable to the philosopher (Phld. *Acad. Ind.* col. VII 41–col. VIII 11 Dorandi; Plut. *Phoc.* 27.2–4; D.L. 4.9), contradict each other; see Gehrke 1976: 89; Trampedach 1994: 142–3; Scholz 1998: 199; Haake 2007: 64, n. 222; see also Dorandi 1997. It seems reasonable to assume that the multifarious image of Xenocrates as anti-Macedonian and pro-democratic partisan, accepted, e.g., by Maddoli 1967: 308–9, and Isnardi Parente 1981a: 150–62, is a literary construct to whitewash the philosopher's probably warranted bad reputation resulting from his participation in the embassy of 322. However, the construction of Xenocrates' literary images demands further investigation.

¹⁰⁸ See Gehrke 1976: 87–108; Habicht 2006: 59–61; Oliver 2003; Bayliss 2011: 74–7, 137–41.

means least: in 306/5 a legal speech written by Demosthenes' nephew Demochares, an anti-Macedonian and democratic partisan, shows clearly that in the eyes of the Athenian public in 307/6 and 306/5 every philosopher, dead or alive, could be blamed on principle for being politically highly untrustworthy. This speech deserves further attention in the current context since Plato and members of the Academy are of crucial importance to its reasoning.

5.5 The Academy in Demochares' 'Accusation against the Philosophers': The Imagination of a Political-Philosophical Horror Picture Show

Some months after the performance of Alexis' comedy *The Knight*, in the year after the Law of Sophocles had been passed, i.e. in 306/5, an otherwise unknown Philo, who had once belonged to the milieu of Aristotle,¹⁰⁹ set in motion proceedings to have the law repealed on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. This request succeeded: the Law of Sophocles was repealed and its originator was consequently condemned to a penalty of five talents.¹¹⁰

In the course of the proceedings, Sophocles made a defense which one of the Athenian opponents of Demetrius of Phalerum, Demochares, had written. This apology *On Behalf of Sophocles against Philo*,¹¹¹ which Aristocles of Messene would later characterise as an 'accusation against the philosophers',¹¹² has not been entirely transmitted, but at least three fragments were handed down by Athenaeus and Eusebius.¹¹³ These highly polemical fragments are directed against Socrates, some pupils of Plato and Aristotle – thus, against a 'dead philosophers society' whose members

¹⁰⁹ See Kirchner, *PA* II, 383–4 no. 14806; LGPN II, s.v. Φίλων (31); Traill, *PAA* 18, no. 953760. Habicht 1988a: 176 has considered identifying Philo as one of the witnesses in Theophrastus' will (D.L. 5.57): Philon of Alopece (Kirchner, *PA* II, 385 no. 14828; LGPN II, s.v. Φίλων (68); Traill, *PAA* 18, no. 955010). However, the respective passage is corrupt and the name is according to some manuscripts not Philon, but Philion; T. Dorandi has accepted this name in his edition of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*. The following delineations rest upon Haake 2007: 32–40; Haake 2008: 100–3.

¹¹⁰ D.L. 5.38; see, e.g., Haake 2007: 30; Haake 2008: 102–3. On the question of the legal procedure, see Haake 2007: 19–20, n. 26; Haake 2008: 101; see also Canevaro 2011 [2013]: 67–8.

¹¹¹ Democh. fr. 1 Marasco = *BNJ* 75 F 1 ap. Ath. 11.508f.

¹¹² Aristoc. fr. 2.6 Chiesara ap. Eus. *PE* 15.1.13.6: [...] κατηγορίαν κατὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων [...].

¹¹³ Democh. test. 5 Marasco = *BNJ* 75 T 5 ap. Ath. 13.610f; Democh. fr. 1 Marasco = *BNJ* 75 F 1 ap. Ath. 11.508f–9b; Democh. fr. 2 Marasco = *BNJ* 75 F 2 ap. Eus. *PE* 15.2.6; Democh. fr. 3a Marasco = *BNJ* 75 F 3a ap. Ath. 5.215c and Democh. fr. 3b Marasco = *BNJ* 75 F 3b ap. Ath. 5.187d. For a commentary on Demochares' speech, see Marasco 1984: 163–76, as well as S. Dmitriev in *BNJ* 75; see also Haake 2007: 32–40, for a detailed analysis of the extant fragments of the speech.

are depicted as dubious characters. Even though it is of course not possible to extrapolate the whole argumentation of Demochares' speech from these passages, it is clear that the attack on a considerable number of dead philosophers aimed at discrediting philosophers on principle.¹¹⁴ This observation fits well into the specific character of Attic forensic speeches: it was not so much the actual cause that was their central topic, but the general behaviour of the protagonists and the question of whether they conducted their life in conformity with or deviation from public norms.¹¹⁵

The content of the three fragments shows clearly that the intention of Demochares was to delineate the philosophers as politically untrustworthy persons and to disqualify them as members of the political community of any *polis*. By referring to the philosophers' alleged philo-Macedonism, their supposed proven betrayal of their *patris*, their alleged pursuit of tyranny, and their reputed lack of bravery in war, Demochares drew to a large extent on the 'classical' polemic repertoire of the political rhetoric in fourth-century Athens. Against the background of Demochares' strategy to discredit philosophers of all stripes, the question of how he did structure the extant passage concerning the Academy arises.

On the basis of the structure and the content of the fragments regarding Socrates and Aristotle, there is no compelling reason to doubt that Demochares also dealt with Plato and perhaps with some other important philosophical members of the Academy in his 'accusation against the philosophers'. However, in the extant fragment concerning the Academy none of the central philosophical figures of the Academy is mentioned. In fact, the three named individuals are rather negligible figures from a philosophical point of view, because they never became philosophers, but were members of the local elite of various Greek cities who joined the Academy for some time at an early age. Yet, this Academic triad was politically very suitable for demonstrating the impact of the Academy on the character of its members, thus illustrating how philosophical institutions inculcate depravity in their members. The three named are Euaion of Lampsacus, Timolaus of Cyzicus and Chaeron of Pallene. Even though only the last one succeeded in acquiring power, all three pursued tyranny in their respective homelands.¹¹⁶ After becoming tyrant of Pallene,

¹¹⁴ In this context, see Haake 2007: 39–40; Haake 2008: 100–3.

¹¹⁵ See Cohen 1995: 186–8, 190–1, with the modifications of Rhodes 2004: esp. 155; see also Haake 2008: 102.

¹¹⁶ Democh. *fr.* 1 Marasco = *BNJ* 75 *F* 1 *ap.* Ath. 11.508f–9b; on this fragment, see Marasco 1984: 163–70; Haake 2007: 34–7. For a historical analysis of this tyrannical triad, see Trampedach 1994: 62–5.

Chaeron acted in the way a tyrant typically did in the Greek social imagination: a pupil of Plato and Xenocrates, he expelled the best among the male citizens, freed their slaves, distributed the belongings of their dispersed former owners to them and forced the wives of the exiled men to marry their former slaves.¹¹⁷

However, Demochares did not confine himself to blaming Chaeron for his classic tyrannical atrocities, but rather developed his topical allegation into an innovative, both perfidious and brilliant accusation: according to Demochares there was a causal nexus between Chaeron's deeds on the one hand and Plato's philosophy on the other. More precisely, Plato's philosophy is declared to have served as Chaeron's guidance: the *Republic* and the *Laws* were consciously, but wrongly characterised as political manuals:¹¹⁸ 'This is how he benefitted from the beautiful *Republic* and the lawless *Laws*!'¹¹⁹

Despite the great argumentative elaborateness of Demochares' speech, the Law of Sophocles was repealed – most likely because Philo and his supporters put forward an argument which after 307/6 was of great strength: the *patrios politeia*.¹²⁰ If this supposition is right and if it is also true that the philosophical schools had an associational character¹²¹ then it is reasonable to assume that the 'anti-Sophoclean partisans' argued that the Law of Sophocles was in violation of a Solonian law, namely the law on associations.¹²² Even if the Law of Sophocles was revoked and the philosophers returned to Athens as a result,¹²³ the fragments of Demochares'

¹¹⁷ On the figure of the tyrant in the Greek social imagination, see Lanza 1977: 33–222; Schmitt Pantel 1979; Haake 2013b: 179; see also Luraghi 2015; Luraghi 2018.

¹¹⁸ It is worth mentioning that, according to Philodemus in a partially highly damaged passage of PHerc. 1021 (Phld. *Acad. Ind.* col. X 40–XII 41 Dorandi), Hermippus of Smyrna explained in his work *On Those Who Converted from Philosophy to the Exercise of Military Command and of Power* (for the much debated title, see most recently Fleischer 2018b) that Chaeron had broken with Plato, the Academy and philosophical ideals before he became tyrant of his hometown at the behest of Alexander the Great: FGGrHist IVA 1026 Hermippus of Smyrna F 39 (for the text, see now Verhasselt 2015: 35–43; Fleischer 2018a: 31). Hermippus' intention to exonerate Plato and the Academy from the blame of being a seminary of tyrants is quite obvious. However, one should have in mind that the constitution of the text is in part rather hypothetical. See Haake 2007: 36–7.

¹¹⁹ Democh. *fr.* 1 Marasco = BNJ 75 F 1 *ap.* Ath. 11.509b (transl. S. D. Olson; slightly modified): [...] τοῦτ' ὠφελήθει ἐκ τῆς καλῆς Πολιτείας καὶ τῶν παρανόμων Νόμων.

¹²⁰ The common explanation of the revocation of the Law of Sophocles, which assumes the Athenians to believe that the exodus of the philosophers had stained the reputation of their city, is not convincing; see Scholz 1998: 366, n. 4; Haake 2007: 41. See, however, e.g., Habicht 2006: 91.

¹²¹ For the latter aspect, see above, pp. 171–2.

¹²² Dig. 47.22.4 = Ruschenbusch 2010: 145 F 76a; on this law, see, e.g., Jones 1999: 33–5, 311–20; Arnaoutoglou 2003: 44–50; Ismard 2010: 44–57. For a detailed explanation of the brief remarks pointed out above, see Haake 2007: 30–2; Haake 2008: 103–4; Haake 2015: 68–71.

¹²³ D.L. 5.38 with Haake 2007: 30, n. 66; see Habicht 1994: 237; Haake 2007: 42–3.

speech nevertheless show that it seemed promising to present philosophers of various stripes – the members of the Academy prominently among them – as a politically dangerous ‘fifth column’ of foes against the Athenian democracy.

5.6 From the Cup of Hemlock to the Return ‘from Hell’ – Plato and the Academy Between the Death of Socrates and the Revocation of the Law of Sophocles: Some Concluding Remarks

The history of Plato and the Academy in Athenian politics and society between Socrates’ death in 399 and the revocation of the Law of Sophocles in 306/5 can adequately be understood only against the general background of philosophers and philosophy in late classical and early Hellenistic Athens.¹²⁴ Without such a contextualisation one runs the risk of losing sight of the fact that the Academy is not a case apart in the Athenian cosmos, but rather fits into the overall picture of philosophers and philosophy in Athens.

Fourth-century Athens played an important role in the history of philosophy – and even though it was by no means the only place in the Greek world in late classical and early Hellenistic times where philosophy arose, it was in some sense the place to be for those who intended to do philosophy for some time or for the rest of their lives. Nevertheless, in the course of the fourth century both the practice of philosophising and the philosophers themselves were anything but unquestioned by the Athenian public. Not only could everything related to philosophy be criticised and ridiculed in Attic comedy, but the philosophers were put in a dangerous position on various occasions: the situation for philosophers in Athens was always truly precarious in times of heavy political upheaval, or, more precisely, in times immediately after the overcoming of a rather oligarchic and mostly also philo-Macedonian regime and the reintroduction of the traditional democratic order.

This result can be explained in the following way: even though the philosophers did not constitute a homogenous group, but rather consisted in competing ‘cliques’ and rivalling competitors, and even though no philosophical school advanced any specific oligarchic policy or general party-like politics, philosophers and other people associated with philosophy were generally stigmatised by the Athenian political public. This

¹²⁴ The phrasing ‘Return “from Hell”’ in the heading of this section takes its wording from Alexis’ *The Knight*: PCG II Alex. fr. 99.5 ap. Ath. 13.610e.

general stigmatisation of philosophy as a social practice that did not conform to the democratic norms of the *polis* on the one hand and of philosophers as oligarchic partisans and hence often philo-Macedonian henchmen on the other could be deployed so that in times after oligarchic regimes prominent philosophers were brought into conflict with the law. Commonly, this resulted in a charge of *asebeia*.¹²⁵ Here the Law of Sophocles constitutes a single exception: no single philosopher was confronted with an indictment concerning his personal integrity, but a legal regulation was passed to attack the philosophers in general.

The stigmatisation of philosophy as oligarchic is based on three most significant factors: first, political theories of fourth-century philosophers regardless of which philosophical background are indeed full of anti-democratic and oligarchic ideas. Second, in the Greek world, philosophy was first and foremost a pursuit expressing the ‘conspicuous leisure’ of the male members of the upper classes of Greek city-states to distinguish themselves from ordinary people and to demonstrate one’s economic availability as well as one’s affiliation to the social elite by mastering an exclusive cultural practice. Third, due to their social background, most people who practised philosophy either temporarily or as a life pursuit were integrated into international networks, and often these people had contacts to politically suspicious sole rulers, above all to Macedonian kings.¹²⁶ This, however, was a resource which the Athenians tried occasionally to instrumentalise for their own advantage in the last decades of the fourth century.¹²⁷

In fourth-century Athens, philosophising was a social practice deeply embedded in the social stratum of the civic elite. Within this peer group, it served as ‘social capital’;¹²⁸ within Athenian society, however, this social capital brought in tow political discredit, which incriminated the

¹²⁵ In addition to the already mentioned charges against Socrates (pp. 68–70) and Theophrastus (p. 81), it is also worth referring to the cases of Aristotle in 322 and Demetrius of Phalerum in 318. On the charge of *asebeia* against Aristotle, controversial in terms of its historicity, see, e.g., Haake 2006: 344–8; Ford 2011: 56–9, 61–2, 65–7; Filonik 2013: 72 f.; Haake 2016: 207–9; on Demetrius’ case, see, e.g., O’Sullivan 1997: 139–42; Filonik 2013: 74; Haake 2016: 217, n. 50. See also the general remarks by Mari 2003.

¹²⁶ See in greater detail Haake 2009: 127–31.

¹²⁷ On philosophers as members of Athenian embassies to Macedonian kings in the fourth century, especially with regard to Xenocrates, see above, pp. 81–3. On an alleged service of Aristotle as Athenian ambassador, see the deconstructing remarks of Haake 2006: 332–4; for the opposite view, see Sonnabend 1996: 135–45.

¹²⁸ For the term see Bourdieu 1983: 185–98; see further Haake 2009: 132–5, esp. 132.

philosophers in different measure depending on the historical circumstances. From roughly 399 to 306/5, Plato and his Academy, too, were subject to this trend. This 'short century' of the history of philosophy in Athens was inaugurated by the lapse of philosophy, with the conviction and punishment of Socrates with death, and brought to a close with the return of the philosophers 'from hell' after the repealing of the Law of Sophocles. Thus did Athens avoid a second lapse of philosophy.

This latter event forms a true caesura in the history of philosophy in Athens¹²⁹ and constitutes the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Academy in the cosmos of Hellenistic Athens which lasted for more than 220 years and which came to an end in a melange of world history, Greek and Roman histories, local history and history of philosophy in 87/6.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ See, e.g., Haake 2008: 106–7.

¹³⁰ See Haake 2007: 99–117, 271–3; see also in general Ferrary 2007; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007.

*Plato in the Academy: Some Cautious Reflections**John Glucker*

I shall deal here with a question of method: how to be fair to scanty evidence.¹ Plato lived in his house near the Academy for over forty years, and one assumes that this is where he wrote most, or all, of his dialogues. Yet we have extremely meagre indications of his other activities in this hub of scholarship and thought. I shall not deal here with his activity as a philosophical thinker except in a few contexts where some aspects of it may have some bearing on our main theme. As we all know, Plato has been depicted over the generations as a Socratic Pythagorean with Heraclitean inclinations; a sceptic; a para-Stoic; a Neo-Platonist; a precursor of Christianity; a prefiguration of Hegelian ontology; a destroyer – together with Euripides and Socrates – of the true Tragic Spirit of the Greeks; a neo-Kantian; an existentialist; an analytic philosopher manqué, and a postmodern pharmacist. All this where we have volumes of ancient evidence – but there we are faced, of course, with the lubricious issue of philosophical exegesis. Our problem in the present study is of a different nature. It is chiefly historical, and we have more lacunae than solid facts in our meagre evidence.

Indeed, the issue of Plato's teaching activities is like a jigsaw puzzle where most of the parts are missing. Philosophical scholars tend, by and large, to imitate nature in not liking a vacuum. They have, therefore, the tendency to bridge over the gaps and make assumptions² where evidence

¹ I have kept the style of the original lecture, and, in order not to burden the main text or the notes with the many passages which I presented in my handout, I have retained them in an Appendix, and referred the reader to the various parts of the Appendix in my notes.

² I have not compiled a long list of places where we are told that 'one must assume ...', and the like: it would have occupied a whole booklet. Here are some examples. Gaier 1968: 2: '... und im übrigen ist anzunehmen'; p. 28: 'Freilich gibt es so gut wie keine direkte Zeugnisse dafür, daß sich Platon in der Schule ausführlich über geschichtsphilosophische Fragen geäußert hat. Es ist jedoch anzunehmen ...'. Shorey 1933: 29–31, 'We may suppose'; 'We may fancy if we please'; 'We may see in the *Parmenides*'; 'We may presume' – and more of the same. The whole section begins with the words 'Somewhat less fanciful {and therefore "we may fancy if we please"? JG} are the better-founded conjectures of modern scholarship with regard to the nature of Plato's teaching in the Academy'.

is lacking. By and large, one detects three types of answers to the question of what Plato taught in the Academy – assuming, that is, that he did teach in the Academy at all.

The first, and rather widespread, suggestion is that the ‘programme of studies’ in the Academy followed the plan for the education of the Guardians in Plato’s *Republic*. This was expounded in some detail by John Burnet:³ the teaching included arithmetic, plane and solid geometry, astronomy, harmonics – and, of course, dialectic. Paul Shorey⁴ adds to the programme of studies in *Republic* also *Parmenides* as ‘a lesson in logic devised by Plato to exercise the wit of his students’; and sees in *Philebus* ‘a report of a discussion guided by Plato’. The method of classification in *Sophist* and *Politicus* may also have ‘found its reflection in the exercises of the school’.⁵ Shorey devotes some space also to ‘occasional lectures by Plato himself’, of which *Περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν* is a specimen, and also to research in mathematics and astronomy; but the main ‘teaching programme’ is derived from ‘teaching programmes’ in the dialogues.

Doubts have been expressed on this point, and rightly so. The best objection known to me has been formulated by Henri-Irénée Marrou.⁶ None of our sources, says Marrou, tells us anything about such a ‘programme of studies’. It is unlikely that programmes of education like those in *Republic* or *Laws* were ever intended for the Academy. Both dialogues, says Marrou, are ‘utopian’, blueprints for ideal states, and their programmes are organized by age-groups and abilities. One might also add that the dialogues were written for publication and addressed to a readership which included people outside the Academy.

Another suggestion, a little less widely held, was that Plato used his own dialogues as textbooks in teaching his pupils in the Academy. We have seen that Shorey takes *Parmenides*, *Sophist* and *Politicus* as reflecting such exercises. A representative of this view, within limits, is Gilbert Ryle.⁷ Ryle does point

³ Burnet 1914: ‘The Programme of Studies’, pp. 182–7. Burnet has already – pp. 180–1 – also accepted the reports on *Περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν* in a ‘maximalist’ interpretation of ‘regular lectures’.

⁴ See note 2 above.

⁵ Theodor Gomperz 1903: 222, also suggests that some of the late dialogues reflect Plato’s teaching in smaller ‘Schülerkreise’, which were not unlike our own ‘seminaristische Übungen’. See, for a similar view, Bréhier 1951: 97: ‘En quoi consistait l’enseignement de Platon? C’est ce qu’il est difficile de savoir, parce que la plupart de ses oeuvres, destinées à un large public, n’en doivent pas être le reflet; il faut en excepter pourtant ces sortes d’exercices logiques que sont la seconde partie du *Parménide*, et les débuts du *Théétète* et du *Sophiste*; si l’on fait attention que ces exercices sont destinés à éprouver la vigueur logique de l’élève ...’.

⁶ Marrou 1965: 114–15.

⁷ Ryle 1966. Theodorakopoulos 1970: 74–6, seems – as far as one is entitled to draw such pedestrian conclusions from his sublime formulations – to take it for granted that the Platonic dialogues, especially those where Socrates is the ‘hero’, were studied and taught in the Academy.

out that 'Plato composed his elenctic dialogues before his Academy was founded', but continues: 'We have indeed good reasons to think that the *Timaeus* and *Parmenides* were designed for academic listeners only.'⁸ 'The *Timaeus* ...', he says elsewhere,⁹ 'was reserved for the instruction of students in the Academy'. This involves him in speculating about the various 'performances' of some of the other dialogues in various festivals and games. This is only one of the eccentricities of this fascinating book.

But Ryle does take it for granted that some dialogues, at least, were originally restricted to teaching in the Academy. If we take the more pedestrian, and more widely accepted, view that *all* the dialogues were written for publication – or even if we accept Ryle's thesis that *some* dialogues were first used only for teaching in the Academy – we may ask exactly how one imagines that the dialogues were used in courses in the Academy. Were they just 'performed', as Ryle sometimes suggests? But even he assumes that they were also used 'for the instruction of students'. Would Plato explain to his students what is wrong with the sophisms used by Socrates in *Republic* I,¹⁰ or with the argument at *Meno* 81c7, ... οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι οὐ μεμάθηκεν as a refutation of Meno's argument that one cannot learn what one does not know?¹¹ Or with the 'telegraphic' proof of the immortality of the soul at *Phaedrus* 245c5–246a2?¹²

⁸ Ryle 1966: 42–3.

⁹ Ryle 1966: 83.

¹⁰ See Ludlam 2011.

¹¹ A number of adherents of the 'Theory of Reminiscence' have assumed that the perfect tense does not mean here that the soul *has actually learned*, but only that she is 'in a condition of having learned' (μεμάθηκυῖα, 81d1; 86a12). This is the translation of this participle at 86a in Thompson 1937: 142. For Thompson, this means 'be ... in the possession of them' (of the 'true opinions' mentioned at 86a9). Klein 1965: 95 points out in passing the difficulty involved in such an interpretation of the perfect – although on p. 178 and in note 20 there he seems to accept Thompson's translation and to turn it into 'must be in possession of all that can be learned'. Tarrant 2005: 43 seems to accept this interpretation of μεμάθηκυῖα at face value: 'That means that the soul has for the whole of time (*to panta chronon*, 86a6) been in a "having learned" condition (86a)'. Sharples 1984: 156, on 86a8–9, also seems to accept this interpretation: "'Possessing knowledge" and "having learned" are treated as equivalent; as usual in Greek, a perfect tense, here μεμάθηκυῖα, denotes a present state.' Such an approach to the meaning of the perfect would imply that at 81c5, for example, πολλάκις γεγονυῖα would only mean that 'she is in the condition of having been born many times' – not that she has actually been born many times; and at c6 ἑώρακυῖα would mean that 'she is in the condition of having seen' – not that, in her many wanderings in the two worlds, she has actually seen. And when Pheidippides came running to Athens from Marathon and said, with his last breath, νενικήκαμεν, he did not mean 'we have won', but merely that 'we are in the condition of people who won'. In any case, even if the soul has lived many times here and in Hades, why should this necessarily prove that she has seen πάντα χρήματα and that οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι οὐ μεμάθηκεν? I have lived many times in London for long periods, and yet there are many parts of London which I have never even seen. For some other complications involved see Sharples, 1984: 147–9, and Bluck 1961: 286–7.

¹² See Stephanou 1989: 105–14.

Another way of taking the dialogues to have been used in Plato's teaching in the Academy has been suggested as a possibility by our colleague Professor Szlezák.¹³ Professor Szlezák discusses the possibility that the dialogues, or some of them, were read in the Academy 'as exercise-textbooks' in conjunction with the students' 'training in Platonic philosophy'.¹⁴ In the context of the school Professor Szlezák adheres to, the Tübingen School, this 'training in Platonic philosophy' would mean regular courses of lectures delivered by Plato himself. (In any case, I would find it difficult to understand what else, in the context of 'students' in a philosophical community centred around Plato's house, the meaning of such a 'training' might be.) Some of these courses, according to Professor Szlezák's other publications, were concerned with the Theory of Forms, and only the courses delivered in Plato's later years dealt with the One, the Indivisible Dyad, and the whole complex system of philosophy reconstructed by the Tübingen Platonists from these ἀρχαί. The evidence for the existence of these lectures – of any lectures – is the little we are told about Plato's lecture(?) / course of lectures(?) / regular courses of lectures(?) 'On the Good', backed by a rather generous interpretation of this scanty information, in conjunction with presumed hints in the dialogues which are supposed to point beyond the dialogues themselves to some 'unwritten (but obviously orally delivered) philosophy'. Dealing with this issue is almost like *rem actam agere*. Let us, however, look again

¹³ See Szlezák 1993: 25–7, esp. 26 (in the original German edition, 38–41, esp. 40): 'From the addressees of the questions *within* the dialogues one could infer the addressees of the dialogues themselves; in that case, the dialogues would have been written primarily for students of the Academy as exercise-textbooks or as the basis of their discussions. Because of their training in Platonic philosophy the students were certainly in the position to solve the text's puzzles and aporias and to supplement the missing proofs. The dialogues' references beyond themselves would in this way be brought into line with an assumed procedure in the Academy's teaching of philosophy, or even be explained by it. There is no room for doubt that on this assumption we would have a meaningful reading of at least the early aporetic dialogues.'

¹⁴ In the following paragraphs, Professor Szlezák suggests that the dialogues were also meant for two other categories of readers: laymen and people with scholarly (but not full philosophical) training, and he goes on to conclude that 'the educated public turns out to be the *primary* audience at which Plato aims' (emphasis mine). This does not seem to exclude altogether the suggestion that some of these dialogues were employed in the teaching activities in the Academy – only that they were not 'written *primarily* for students of the Academy' (emphasis mine). In any case, it does not exclude the assumption that there was oral teaching of Platonic philosophy in Plato's Academy. Professor Szlezák himself says clearly in our passage that 'Because of their training in Platonic philosophy the students were certainly in the position to solve the text's puzzles and aporias and to supplement the missing proofs' ('Auf Grund ihrer Vorbildung in platonischer Philosophie waren [not *wären*] die Schüler gewiß in der Lage, die Rätsel und Aporien des Textes zu lösen und die fehlenden Begründungen zu ergänzen'). 'Were *certainly*' and '*waren* [no subjunctive here] *gewiß*', in the midst of the discussion of a hypothesis, seem to point to what is in itself taken to be an indisputable fact.

at what the sources tell us about this/these lecture(s). I shall not enter into the contents, or the possible implications of these contents – or else we shall be sitting here μέχρι δευτέρας παρουσίας. I shall only refer to the passages which explicitly mention Plato's Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ.¹⁵ Before we do that, however, we should take heed of Giovanni Reale's sombre warning against those who may dare disagree with the Tübingen School's reconstruction of the philosophical system of Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ.¹⁶

In Section A of the Appendix I have arranged the pieces of evidence on Plato's Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ in three subsections, according to the main emphasis in the story told in each of them. The passages in Section a, 1–3, describe what seems to be a public lecture by Plato, which most of the audience found incomprehensible and went away, leaving only Plato's συνήθεις, ὁμιλητές or ἑταῖροι.¹⁷ The passages in Sections b–c, 4–9, report in various details the contents of Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ, mainly the One, the Indivisible Dyad, and the various applications of this Dyad. Of these, 4–5 mention the names of some, at least, of those συνήθεις, ὁμιλητές or ἑταῖροι – Speusippus, Xenocrates, Aristotle, Heraclides, Hestiaeus – and tell us that they wrote down what Plato said. Passages 6–9 concentrate on the difference between these 'unwritten words' of Plato and his *Timaeus*, as indicated in Aristotle's *Physics* 209b11–16. The passages in Section d, 10–11, deal with what they call Aristotle's Περὶ φιλοσοφίας, but are taken by most scholars to refer to the two ἀρχαί of Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ.

At the price of repeating old arguments, it would be hard to read 1–3 carefully and yet assume that the delivery of Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ was more than one single event. As pointed out long ago by G. J. De Vries,¹⁸ Aristoxenus, our source for 1, was no friend of Plato, and would have been only too happy to point out that Plato drove away large crowds of listeners, and did so again and again – if that were what happened. Also, would Plato himself care to risk repeating such a humiliating performance more than once? Similar arguments are offered in Philip Merlan's posthumous article

¹⁵ See A 1–11 in the Appendix.

¹⁶ See Reale 1990: xxi: 'Anyone who has found these theories abstract or even bizarre simply does not understand them, or they do not have a familiarity with the Greek which is necessary in order to grasp how in these metaphysical propositions Plato expresses in a faultless way the key to life with sensibility, imagination, and thought that is precisely Greek and reveals its most profound depths.'

¹⁷ As can be seen from the headings of the passages in Section A, Gigon includes all of them among the fragments of Aristotle's Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ. But our passage 1 is clearly by Aristoxenus, and claims to record what Aristotle used to say to his pupils. Passages 2–3 *may* also depend on the same Aristoxenus story, adding some details. See our note 20. The rest of these passages seem to derive indirectly from Aristotle's Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ.

¹⁸ De Vries 1968: 124–6.

in the same periodical.¹⁹ Add to their arguments that, if these were recurring lectures – not to mention regular *Lehrvorträge* delivered by Plato year in, year out – there would be no reason for his ἐταῖροι to write them down, nor would Porphyry (5) describe these words as τὰ ῥηθέντα αἰνιγματωδῶς if they represented common themes of Plato's regular lectures. Add to it – as Merlan does – that Themistius (2) tells us that Plato delivered Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ in Piraeus. Whether Themistius and Proclus (2–3) were entirely dependent on Aristoxenus (as Gaiser takes for granted) or not, I see no reason to assume that Themistius would go out of his way to *invent* such an 'unnatural' venue.²⁰

This should dispose of the other suggestion, that if Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ is described in our sources as ἀκρόασις, λόγοι, συνουσία or συνουσίαι, this is because all these words refer to regular instruction. In fact, none of these is, at the time of Plato and Aristotle, a strictly technical term, and only the plural συνουσίαι, which appears in 7, 9, 10 and 11, refers to more than one occasion. Three of our sources – Aristoxenus (1), Proclus (3) and Alexander, quoted by Simplicius (4), use ἀκρόασις. Gaiser²¹ explains this ἀκρόασις as 'Lehrvorträge' which 'allgemein zugänglich waren'. My objections in the last paragraph need not be repeated. But let us look again at these words. Despite the common name in the MS tradition of φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις, applying to a series of lectures (and this title is post-Aristotelian),²² this is not the usual sense of ἀκρόασις: it usually refers to any spoken performance,²³ and often clearly to a one-time

¹⁹ Merlan 1968: 705–9.

²⁰ Gaiser 1968: 452–3, writes: 'Von Aristoxenos abhängig und also ohne selbstständigen Quellenwert sind die Darstellungen des Themistios [our 2] und Proklos [our 3], die in der Übertreibung des mißerfolges noch weiter gehen.' Neither of these two passages is included in any edition of Aristoxenus. Colpi 1987: 121, n. 99, cites these words of Gaiser and remarks: 'Vielleicht läßt sich doch die Frage stellen, ob der Aristoteliker Themistius nicht aus Aristoteles (de bono p. 111 Ross) selbst, auf dem sich Aristoxenus beruft, geschöpft hatte.' Gigon takes this account of Themistius as derived from Aristotle's Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ. Themistius knew one or two things about Plato and Aristotle. He may have added, for rhetorical effect, the description of the various places, including the silver mines at Laurium, from which people flocked to Piraeus to hear Plato; but he is unlikely to have invented Piraeus as the place where these λόγοι were delivered. Why should he? The Academy would be the natural place, and if imagination had a say in this, people would rather be made to flock there even from the Piraeus itself. Indeed, Guthrie 1986: 21–2 takes it for granted (having probably forgotten Themistius' evidence) that 'The lecture must have been given in the gymnasium, a public part of the Academy precinct, where Sophists and others were wont to hold forth.' I shall not attempt to examine the rest of Guthrie's discussion of Plato's 'instruction' (pp. 21–2).

²¹ Gaiser 1968: 452, note. It would follow from his remark that the phenomenon of most listeners leaving half-way through the lecture was also a regular feature of these 'Lehrvorträge'.

²² Aristotle himself refers to what we call his *Physics* as τὰ φυσικά, or ἡ μέθοδος ἢ τῶν φυσικῶν. See references in Bonitz p. 835b.

²³ E.g. Thucydides, 1.22.4. Cicero, *Att.* 15.17.2

performance.²⁴ The singular form is attested by Porphyry (5). I would rather take his evidence than that of Asclepius (7), Philoponus (9; 10) and Simplicius (11, literally the same as 10). Συνουσία means simply being together with others.²⁵ Agathon's symposium is described as a συνουσία.²⁶ So is the discussion between Socrates and Protagoras.²⁷ It is sometimes used in Sophistic contexts, as in that *locus classicus*, *Apology* 19e4–20a2. This sentence is evidence enough for the non-technical sense of the word: young people who can τῶν ἑαυτῶν πολιτῶν προῖκα συνεῖναι ᾧ ἂν βούλωνται are persuaded by some famous Sophists τὰς ἐκείνων συνουσίας ἀπολιπόντας σφίσιν συνεῖναι χρήματα διδόντας. The 'being together' itself applies here to anyone, Sophists or any ordinary citizens. 'Any ordinary citizens', at least, are nowhere attested as delivering 'Lehrvorträge'. And, if the *Seventh Letter* is genuine, it is again Plato himself who uses συνουσία a few times in the non-technical sense of 'being together'.²⁸ Moreover, in what may be the most famous passage in that letter, συνουσία is expressly distinguished from σύγγραμμα and μᾶθημα.²⁹ As to λόγοι, they need not mean anything more than 'things said': in a casual talk, in a lecture, in a series of lectures – indeed, in a conversation of any sort. To conclude from such words that Περί τᾶγαθοῦ was a regular series of lectures or seminars is to read far too much into our scanty evidence, disregarding the contemporary usage of these words.

²⁴ Hippocrates, *Præcepta* 12. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1459b22. Suetonius, *Gramm.* 2: ... plurimas acroasis subinde fecit assidueque disseruit. Vitruvius, 10.22.3. The nearest I have found to ἀκρόασις in the sense of 'lecture' is *Metaph.* A, 994b32–995a3: αἱ δ' ἀκρόασεις κατὰ τὰ ἔτη συμβαίνουσιν. ὥς γὰρ εἰώθαμεν οὕτως ἀξιούμεν λέγεσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ὅμοια φαίνεται ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀσυνήθειαν ἀγνωστότερα καὶ ξενικώτερα. τὸ γὰρ σύνηθες γνώριμον. From the following sentences it is clear that what is meant is public lectures, not 'Lehrvorträge' or regular seminars. Surprisingly, nobody seems to have cited this chapter in connection with Aristoxenus' story.

²⁵ E.g. Plato, *Laws* 1, 624b1; 639d3.

²⁶ Plato, *Symposium* 172a7, b7, c1 et al.

²⁷ Plato, *Protagoras* 337b3.

²⁸ See Herodotus, 6.128. Euripides, *Medea* 254 (where the MS H reads κοινωνία). Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2.25.6; *Hellenica* 5.3.20. Plato, *Philebus* 19c4–6. Plato(?), *Epistle* 7, 327d1–2; 330a4; 332d2, and especially 341c6 (on which see also note 29 and context). At 341c6 we have πολλή συνουσία, not the plural πολλαὶ συνουσίαι. In *Epistle* 2, 310e1 and 310e3 we have, similarly, συνουσία ... οὐκ ὀλίγη. In both cases the reference is to the συνουσία between the same two persons. The plural συνουσίαι, as we can see from 310e8 and the details supplied at 311a1–b7, means not the many συνουσίαι between the same two persons, but the various συνουσίαι between various persons. Cf. Herodotus, 2.78. The συνουσία between the same two persons is either πολλή or ὀλίγη. What Plato of *Epistle* 7 did in his συνουσία with Dio is spelt out at 335c2: Δίωνα δὲ ἐγὼ λέγων ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἔπειθον – and see 334c–335c for the contents of ταῦτα.

²⁹ See Appendix, section B. If the *Seventh Letter* is not genuine, then we have here an extra-Platonic piece of evidence for the informal nature of συνουσία in a Platonic context. For Socratic συνουσία see also Lynch 1972: 42–4. Lynch, however, limits his discussion to passages where συνουσία is explicitly connected with Socrates' teaching activities'.

What, then, did Plato do with his 'students', other than what seems almost certainly to be the one lecture *Περὶ τὰ γαθοῦ*, open to the public, and quite probably delivered in the Piraeus? We have two ancient pieces of evidence, one contemporary and one from an Epicurean source, written about three centuries later, but most probably relying on near-contemporary sources.

The first passage comes from an unknown comedy by Plato's contemporary Epicrates.³⁰ This passage is well known, and yet it is absent from Riginos' *Platonica*.³¹ A number of German scholars regarded it as – what else? – seminars in botany and zoology.³² Gaiser,³³ more cautiously, calls it merely 'biologische Klassifizierung in der Akademie'. Cherniss³⁴ dismisses the whole story as pure invention, based partly on a scene of Aristophanes, partly on the method of division exemplified in *Sophist* and *Politicus*, and of no greater historical value than the Aristophanic *φροντιστήριον*. The Aristophanic 'school', just like Socrates' ascent to the clouds, was indeed pure invention. Middle Comedy, on the other hand, is somewhat less imaginative and more down to earth. Assume that Epicrates is describing some practice of Plato and his friends. It occurs quite clearly not in Plato's house or garden, but in the public gymnasium. The activity is described by the verb *διατρίβουσιν*, and in our context it does not even have the later sense of 'course, seminar'.³⁵ It is more reminiscent of Socrates' activity described at the beginning of Plato's *Euthyphro* (2a1–3): ... ὅτι σὺ τὰς ἐν Λυκείῳ καταλιπὼν διατρίβας ἐνθάδε νῦν διατρίβεις περὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στοάν ... And to anticipate any suggestion by future scholars that Socrates is 'holding forth' at that stoa, Euthyphro – who, we remember, had the gift of prophecy – adds immediately: οὐ γὰρ που καὶ σοὶ γε δίκη τις οὔσα τυγχάνει ... Even Socrates' *διατρίβαί καὶ λόγοι* at *Apology* 37b8–c1 and *Gorgias* 484e2–3 are not exactly academic (or Academic) seminars or lectures: they are things said in public and addressed to a general public. It is no accident that the Cynic sermons, addressed to a wide public, were called *διατρίβαί*. Moreover, the practice of philosophers coming to a gymnasium and posing questions to young people should be known to us from the first few pages of *Euthydemus* (also taking place in the Lyceum), and the

³⁰ See Appendix, section C.

³¹ Riginos 1976.

³² See references in Cherniss 1945: 99, n. 4.

³³ Gaiser 1968: fragment 6, pp. 450–1.

³⁴ Riginos 1976: 62–3.

³⁵ Glucker 1978: 162–6. For *διατρίβω* in the plain sense of spending time or sojourning see also Plato(?), *Epistle* 7, 329b2; 330c1; 338a1.

emphasis on defining the κολοκύντη by its γένος is, of course, reminiscent of the Eleatic's demand to define by division into proper γένη. Even assuming that this scene is no pure invention by the comic poet, it does not seem to provide us with any evidence of teaching activities directed at some proper students of Plato.³⁶

Our other source is Philodemus' *History of the Academy*, as a combination of PHerc. 1021 and 164 is now called.³⁷ As Dorandi points out in his Introduction,³⁸ and throughout his commentary on the Plato sections,³⁹ Philodemus used contemporary and near-contemporary sources like Philip of Opus, Hermodorus, Dicaearchus and Antigonos of Carystus. Plato is praised (I 9 ff.) as the one who 'increased philosophy ... and attracted innumerable people to it'. Here one might expect some mention of his extensive lectures and seminars, but no: ... διὰ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν λόγων (14–15: some editors suggest διαλόγων). At I 16–41, we have some indication – the text is rather lacunose here – of Plato making people turn to philosophy by showing them their ignorance; but the only indication that this involved teaching is Gaiser's reading διδασκάλου (adopted by Dorandi) at 41, where previous editors read διαδόχου. Since later, at V 35 ff., we have a list of Πλάτωνος μαθηταί, even the reading διδασκάλου, if correct, should not surprise us. After all, Plato himself is described at X 6 as Σωκράτους γεγωνῶς μαθητῆς, and Socrates gave no formal lectures or seminars. Plato's main praise appears at Y 1 ff.: κατενενόητο δὲ, φησί,⁴⁰ καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ἐπίδοσις πολλή κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, ἀρχιτεκτοῦντος μὲν καὶ προβλήματα διδόντος τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ζητούντων δὲ μετὰ σπουδῆς αὐτά

³⁶ One has no evidence either way for the historicity or otherwise of the story about the quarrel between Aristotle and Plato in Plato's last year, told by Aelian, *VH* 3.19.

³⁷ (50–2 Dils), but some of the expressions used there seem to be genuine. Aristotle had a χορός τις τῶν ὁμιλητῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ (51.6–7: at 20 they are his γνώριμοι), and makes Plato retreat τοῦ ἔξω περιπάτου (most probably outside Plato's property and in the gymnasium), so that ἔνδον ἐβάδιζε σὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις (51.15–16: at 26, we have ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφεῖ). Xenocrates finds Plato there διαλεγόμενον τοῖς σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἦσαν δὲ μάλα συγχροὶ καὶ ἀξιοὶ λόγου καὶ οἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦντες τῶν νέων ἐπιφανεῖς (27–9). There can be little doubt about διαλεγόμενος. This activity is then described as ὁμιλία (30), which can be used for any social intercourse or familiarity (we remember Aristotle's ὁμιλεῖται) and by συνουσία (32), which we have discussed earlier. As we have noted, neither has, in such contexts, any formal or institutional connotation. The young 'students' are ἐταῖροι, and Plato used to converse with them walking in the *peripatos* of the gymnasium. Another interesting point: in Aelian's story (51.13–14), Aristotle caused Plato to retreat φιλοτίμως πάνυ τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ποιοῦμενος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἑλεγκτικῶς. Diogenes Laertius 3.24 tells us about Plato: οὗτος πρῶτος ἐν ἐρωτήσει λόγον παρήνεγκεν, and refers to Favorinus as his source. On ἐρώτησις as a manner of doing philosophy, and its connections with ἑλεγχος, see Gucker 1989: 473–89.

³⁸ Section ii, 'Le fonti', pp. 83–99.

³⁹ Pp. 203–24.

⁴⁰ That is, Philodemus' source, probably here Dicaearchus: see II 5.

τῶν μαθηματικῶν. Philodemus proceeds to mention *metrologia*, geometry, mechanics and optics. The text becomes lacunose again here, but at 2 we have φοιτητῶν, a word which already in Plato (e.g. *Euthd.* 295d5–7) means ‘a pupil’ (and today means ‘a student’). Here, at last, are our students, taking proper formal courses ... But hold! Did Euthydemus and Dionysodorus give regular formal lectures? And a few lines below, at 29, we encounter yet again our friend συνουσία. Neither here nor in the sections which follow do we have any evidence of any formal teaching activities, if there were any. I see no reason to fill the gap, if a gap it be.⁴¹

* * *

One thing which emerges from all the passages referring back to Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ is that in that lecture Plato referred, at least, to the One and the Indivisible Dyad as ἀρχαί, and expanded on some of the applications of the Dyad. Considering that both Alexander of Aphrodisias and Porphyry (passages C.b.4–5) tell us that it was not only Aristotle who took down what Plato said on that occasion, but also other ἐταῖροι such as Speusippus, Xenocrates, Hestiaeus and Heraclides, it would be hazardous to dismiss all this, as Cherniss has done – although it seems to agree with much of what Aristotle says in chapter 6 of the first book of *Metaphysics* (esp. 987b19 ff.) – as the sheer invention of Aristotle, who did not understand his Platonic dialogues. But in the same chapter of *Metaphysics* (esp. 987b7–9) we are also told that Plato was the ‘onlie begetter’ of the ‘theory of Ideas’. Yet in a sufficient number of places in *Metaphysics*, *Physics* and *Topics*, Aristotle speaks of ‘those who have postulated [or similar expressions] the Ideas’.⁴² These plural expressions have often been dismissed out of hand, since – as we all know (don’t we?) – Plato and the Theory of

⁴¹ This may be the place to cite a somewhat neglected piece of evidence(?). Riginos (1976: 128) cites what she calls ‘a humorous fabrication given by a fifth century Neoplatonist and based on a specific passage in the *Phaedrus*’ (275c–276d). Here is her rendering of Hermias, in *Phaedrum* 275c (p. 258 Couvreur): ‘A student wrote down all of Plato’s lectures. Later, when he was travelling by boat, his notes were lost. He then returned to Plato and said he knew from experience the truth of Plato’s maxim that one should write not in books but in men’s souls.’ Here, then – at last! – we have evidence, from a pupil of Syrianus and a friend of Proclus, that Plato gave *regular lectures*. But hold! Here is the Greek: φέρεται δὲ τοιοῦτόν τι διήγημα πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεῖν συγγράμμασιν ἀποτίθεσθαι τὰ νοήματα, ὅτι μαθητὴς τις τοῦ Πλάτωνος πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπογραφάμενος ἀπέπλευσε, καὶ ναυσγία περιπεσὼν ἅπαντα ἀπώλεσε καὶ ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον, ἔργῳ πειραθεὶς ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν βιβλίοις ἀποτίθεσθαι τὰ νοήματα ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. The expression πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα παρ’ αὐτοῦ is preposterous: as if Plato had a limited amount of philosophy to teach, repeated it regularly, and if you lost it you could come back for the same. One is reminded of the wise words of Glaucon in *R.* 5.450b6–7, μέτρον ... τοιοῦτον λόγων ἀκούειν ὅλος ὁ βίος νοῦν ἔχουσιν.

⁴² See Appendix D.

Ideas are inseparable.⁴³ ‘The use of the plural ...’ we are told by Field, ‘proves nothing in Aristotle.’ No evidence is given: *sic volo, sic iubeo*. But is Aristotle incapable of uttering the name Plato when he is referring to Plato? I have collected a number of passages in all three works where Aristotle does not hesitate to mention Plato by name.⁴⁴ In most of these places, Plato is mentioned in relation to themes with which we are familiar from dialogues like *Theaetetus*, *Timaeus*, *Sophist* and *Phaedrus*. Only in two of these passages does Aristotle connect Plato with ἰδέαι or εἶδη (*Metaph.* Z, 2.1028b19–22; *Top.* 148a14–22.) In neither of these places is Plato explicitly credited with *inventing* the Ideas. In the first passage we have his view on the relation between the εἶδη and the mathematical entities as contrasted with that of Speusippus. In the second, we have his definition of the Ideas as immortal and imperishable. This would still enable us, if we wished to make assumptions, to speculate on the nature of οἱ τὰς ἰδέας τιθέμενοι and similar expressions as other pupils of Socrates, other members of the Academy – perhaps ‘the Friends of the Ideas’ of *Sophist* – and the like. Plato, we could maintain, did not invent the Ideas, but only ‘shared’ them, and discussed them, with other members of the Academy. But such assumptions fail in the face of the close verbal similarities between *Metaph.* A, 6 and M, 4, where similar actions related to the Ideas are ascribed, virtually in the same words, to Plato in A, 6 and to οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς ἰδέας φήσαντες εἶναι in M, 4 (esp. 1078b11–12).⁴⁵ These similarities have, of course, not escaped the notice of scholars; but as we have seen, the tendency has been to regard the plural as singular, and οἱ τὰς ἰδέας τιθέμενοι as some sort of euphemism for Plato. Aristotle, needless to

⁴³ See, e.g. Cherniss 1944: 186, n. 108, referring to recent (then) publications; and especially Field 1930: 208. Ross 1924: 420–1 (on 1078b11) is somewhat indecisive. On p. 420 he states plainly that the comparison between A, 987 and M, 1028 ‘shows clearly that Aristotle means Plato’. On the next page, however, he suggests that ‘The main difference between A and M here is that M, in using the phrase οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς ἰδέας φήσαντες εἶναι, and in referring only to the influence of Heracliteanism in general and not to Cratylus in particular, perhaps suggests that Plato was one of a band of thinkers who by their united efforts arrived at the ideal theory.’ This, however, does not account for the large number of other anonymous references in the plural (Appendix, Section F), as against the numerous references to Plato, only two of which connect him at all with the Theory of Forms (Appendix, Section E).

⁴⁴ See Appendix, Section E.

⁴⁵ Just a few examples: 987a32–4, ... καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλειτείοις δόξαις, ὡς ἀπάντων τῶν αἰσθητῶν αἰεὶ ρεόντων καὶ ἐπιστήμης περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ οὔσης ... / 1078b13–16, ... περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῖς Ἡρακλειτείοις λόγοις ὡς πάντων τῶν αἰσθητῶν αἰεὶ ρεόντων, ὥστ’ εἴπερ ἐπιστήμη τινὸς ἔσται ... 987b1–3, Σωκράτους δὲ περὶ τὰ ἠθικά πραγματευομένου περὶ δὲ τῆς ὅλης φύσεως οὐθέν, ἐν μέντοι τούτοις τὸ καθόλου ζητοῦντος καὶ περὶ ὁρισμῶν ἐπιστήσαντος πρῶτου τὴν διάνοιαν ... / 1078b17–19, Σωκράτους δὲ περὶ τὰς ἠθικὰς ἀρετὰς πραγματευομένου καὶ περὶ τούτων ὀρίζεσθαι καθόλου ζητοῦντος πρῶτου ... 987b5–6, ... ὑπέλαβεν ὡς περὶ ἐτέρων τοῦτο γινόμενον καὶ οὐ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ... / 1078b15–16, ... ἐτέρας δὲ τινὰς φύσεις εἶναι παρὰ τὰς αἰσθητὰς μενούσας. 987b7–8, οὗτος [Πλάτων] οὖν τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα τῶν ὄντων ἰδέας προσηγόρευσε ... / 1078b31–2, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὄντων ἰδέας προσηγόρευσαν.

say, had a fairly decent classical education, knew the distinction between singular and plural, and could recognize a Plato when he saw one. What, then, are we to do with this problem?

I do not have an answer. I can only point to some possibilities. One suggestion was made long ago by Richard Shute:⁴⁶ the *Metaphysics* as we have them are not part of the collection of works which made their way to Skepsis and were then discovered by Tyrannio. They consist of a collection of treatises written by Aristotle at various times – hence the similarities, differences and confusions.

A more extreme approach is that of Felix Grayeff,⁴⁷ according to which the whole Aristotelian corpus as we have it is not ‘pure’ Aristotle, but rather a collection of works based on lecture notes of two or three generations of Peripatetics. Most scholars, however, tend to accept most parts of the corpus as basically Aristotle’s, with some possible interpolations and additions. One way of dealing with double versions like the one we have between A and M is to accept the approach of Werner Jaeger and ascribe each of these books to a different period in Aristotle’s life.⁴⁸ Jaeger (pp. 192–3) takes Aristotle’s expression at A, 9.990b17–19, ὅλως τε ἀναπροϋσιν οἱ περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν λόγοι ἃ μᾶλλον εἶναι βουλόμεθα [οἱ λέγοντες εἶδη]⁴⁹ τοῦ τὰς ἰδέας εἶναι as evidence that in A Aristotle still identifies himself with other members of the Academy, and he therefore maintains that A was written during Aristotle’s sojourn in Assos. But assume that we accept this interpretation; what reason had Aristotle, when he was in the company of other Academics in Assos, to ascribe to Plato what he later ascribes to an anonymous plurality? What would be the facts behind such a change? Jaeger does not refer to this issue of ‘Plato’ as against the many ‘introducers of the Ideas’, and his proposed dating leaves this problem exactly where it was. I have no solution to offer.

⁴⁶ Shute 1888: 136–8.

⁴⁷ Grayeff 1974.

⁴⁸ Jaeger 1923: 170–99 and 200–36.

⁴⁹ These words are secluded by Blass as ‘an intrusion’ from M4, 1079a14–15. Jaeger also reads βουλόμεθα with the ‘oldest and best’ MS E. So does Ross, and most editors since Bekker. However, the Laurentian MS A^b and Alexander’s commentary read βούλονται, as in the parallel sentence in M – and all MSS have the words secluded by Blass. Why assume that the scribe of the archetype, at A, would look to a similar sentence in M to correct the version he had in front of him – or indeed even remember that there was such a similar sentence? Jaeger also induces a number of other sentences in A, B and K, in which Aristotle uses the first person plural in connection with the Ideas as evidence of the earlier date of the books or passages in which they appear. Cherniss 1944: 488–94 analyses these passages and concludes that most of them, at least, need not mean more than ‘we would interpret’ and the like, and that they ‘do not indicate that Aristotle speaks as a Platonist’. One need not read all that many pages of Aristotle to discover that, very often, the subject of verbs like φαμεν and λέγομεν is the speaker himself, Aristotle, or the speaker and his audience. Be that as it may, it still does not provide any answer to the discrepancies between ‘Plato’ and the ‘introducers of the Ideas’ discussed in our last section.

PLATO IN THE ACADEMY: SOME CAUTIOUS
REFLECTIONS

APPENDIX: PASSAGES CITED IN THE MAIN TEXT

*John Glucker***A Evidence for ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΘΟΥ***a. 'Large audience leaving'*

1. Aristoxenus, *Elementa Harmonica*, ed. R. da Rios, p. 30, 10–32, 1 Meib. (cf. *EN* 1095a17–28). Fr. 84, 1 Gigon,⁵⁰ p. 334 (Gaiser⁵¹ 7, p. 452; Krämer⁵² 1, p. 203):

Καθάπερ Ἀριστοτέλης αἰ διηγείτο τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀκουσάντων παρὰ Πλάτωνος τὴν Περὶ τάγαθου ἀκρόασιν παθεῖν· προσίεναι μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον ὑπολαμβάνοντα λήψεσθαι τι τῶν νομιζομένων τούτων ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν οἷον πλοῦτον, ὑγίειαν, ἰσχύιν, τὸ ὅλον εὐδαιμονίαν τινὰ θαυμαστήν· ὅτε δὲ φανείησαν οἱ λόγοι περὶ μαθημάτων καὶ ἀριθμῶν καὶ γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀστρολογίας καὶ τὸ πέρας ὅτι ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἔν, παντελῶς οἶμαι παράδοξόν τι ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς, εἴθ' οἱ μὲν ὑποκατεφρόνουν τοῦ πράγματος, οἱ δὲ κατεμέμφοντο· οὐ προήδεσαν ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἐριστικοὶ πρὸς τοῦνομα αὐτὸ ὑποκεχνηότες προσήεσαν· εἰ δέ γέ τις οἶμαι προεξετίθει τὸ ὅλον, ἀπεγίνωσκεν ἂν ὁ μέλλων ἀκούειν ἢ, εἴπερ ἤρεσκε αὐτῷ, διέμενεν ἂν ἐν τῇ εἰλημμένη ὑπολήψει. προέλεγεν μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης δι' αὐτὰς ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας, ὥς ἔφη, τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀκροᾶσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, περὶ τίνων τ' ἐστὶν ἡ πραγματεία καὶ τίς.

2. Themistius, *Oratio* 21, pp. 245c–246a. Fr. 84, 2 Gigon, pp. 334–5:

Ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν σοφὸν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν εἶναι σοφόν, ὅτι αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ξυνέρρεόν τε καὶ ξυνήεσαν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος κατιῶν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀμπέλων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀργυρείων· καὶ οὖν ὀπηνίκα τοὺς Περὶ τάγαθου διεξῆει λόγους, ἰλλιγγίασε τέ ποτε ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος καὶ ἀπερρύησαν τοῦ χοροῦ,⁵³ καὶ τελευτῶν δὴ κατέληξεν εἰς τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ ὀμιλητὰς τῷ Πλάτῳ μόνον τὸ θέατρον.

3. Proclus, *in Platonis Parmenidem* p. 688 Cousin (on *Parmenides* 127c1–2).

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοῦ λόγου γενόμενοι ζητοῦσιν εἰ ἀναγνώσκειν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐπὶ τινων τὰ ἑαυτῶν συγγράμματα, καθάπερ ὁ Ζήνων, καὶ ἀξιοῦσιν, εἰ καὶ ποιεῖν τοῦτό ποτε, τοιαῦτα ἀναγινώσκειν οἷα σύμμετρα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πάθωσιν ὅπερ τὸν Πλάτωνα φασιν ἀκρόασιν ἐπαγγεῖλαντα περὶ

⁵⁰ Gigon 1987.

⁵¹ Gaiser 1968.

⁵² Krämer 1990.

⁵³ Χώρου or χόρου W marg. But see article, note 36.

τάγαθοῦ· συλλεγῆναι γάρ πολλὸν καὶ παντοῖον ὄχλον· ὥς δὲ ἀνεγίνωσκεν αὐτός, οἱ δὲ οὐ συνίεσαν τῶν λεγομένων, ἀπολιπόντες αὐτὸν κατ' ὀλίγου σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ἐξεληλύθησαν. Ἀλλὰ Πλάτωνα μὲν τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν εἰδότε καὶ προειπόντι τοῖς ἐταῖροις μηδένα τῶν εἰσιόντων [fortasse ἐξιόντων] διακωλύειν· ἔσεσθαι γάρ ἐπὶ μόνων τῶν γνωρίμων τὴν ἀ ν ἄ γ ν ω σ ι ν.⁵⁴

b. 'Companions taking down'

4. Simplicius, *In Ph.* p. 151, 2–19 Diels (CAG IX). *Ad* 187a12. Fr. 92 Gigon, p. 342 (Gaiser 8, p. 453; Krämer 2, p. 203.) Source: Alexander:

Λέγει δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι “κατὰ Πλάτωνα πάντων ἀρχαὶ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἰδεῶν τό τε ἓν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀόριστος δυάς, ἣν μέγα καὶ μικρὸν ἔλεγεν, ὥς καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τάγαθοῦ Ἀριστοτέλης μνημονεύει.” λάβοι δὲ ἂν τις καὶ παρὰ Σπευσίππου καὶ παρὰ Ξενοκράτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ Περὶ τάγαθοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀ κ ρ ο ἄ σ ε ι· πάντες γὰρ συνέγραψαν καὶ διεσώσαντο τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύταις αὐτὸν ἀρχαῖς χρῆσθαι λέγουσιν.

5. Simplicius, *in Ph.* pp. 453, 19–455, 14 Diels. *Ad* 202b36. Fr. 93 Gigon, pp. 342–3 (Gaiser 23B, pp. 481–4; Krämer 3, p. 203). Sources: Porphyry and Alexander:

p. 342. Ἀρχὰς γὰρ καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὸ ἓν καὶ τὴν ἀόριστον φασὶ δυάδα λέγειν τὸν Πλάτωνα, τὴν δὲ ἀόριστον δυάδα καὶ ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς τιθεὶς ἄπειρον εἶναι ἔλεγε, καὶ τὸ μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ἀρχὰς τιθεὶς ἄπειρον εἶναι ἔλεγεν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τάγαθοῦ λ ὁ γ ο ι ς, οἷς Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ἑστιάος καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐταῖροι παραγενόμενοι ἀνεγράψαντο τὰ ῥηθέντα αἰνιγματωδῶς, ὥς ἐρρήθη. Πορφύριος δὲ [Fr. 174 Smith] διαρθροῦν αὐτὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενος τάδε περὶ αὐτῶν γέγραφε ἐν τῷ Φιλήβῳ ...

p. 343. Ταῦτα ὁ Πορφύριος εἶπεν αὐτῇ σχεδὸν τῇ λέξει, διαρθροῦν ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὰ ἐν τῇ Περὶ τάγαθοῦ σ υ ν ο υ σ ῖ α αἰνιγματωδῶς ῥηθέντα, καὶ ἴσως ὅτι σύμφωνα ἐκεῖνα ἦν τοῖς ἐν Φιλήβῳ γεγραμμένοις. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Περὶ τάγαθοῦ λ ὁ γ ω ν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὁμολογῶν λέγειν, οὕς ἰστόρησαν Ἀριστοτέλης τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐταῖροι, τάδε γέγραφε ...

c. Other References to PTT

6. Simplicius, *in Ph.* p. 503, 10–35 Diels. *Ad* 207c18. Fr. 94 Gigon, p. 343:

Τοῦ γὰρ Πλάτωνος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τάγαθοῦ λ ὁ γ ο ι ς εἰπόντος τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ μικρὸν τὴν ὕλην κτε.

⁵⁴ The Oxford editors refer in a note to this passage to the Aristoxenus story (our passage 1). But would Proclus be more familiar with Aristoxenus' work on music than with an Aristotelian work?

7. Asclepius, in *Metaph.* pp. 76, 8 – 77, 17 Hayduck (CAG VI.2). Fr. 95 Gigon, p. 344 (Gaiser 48B, p. 528):

Κακῶν μέντοι γε οὐ φαμεν εἶναι ιδέας· τὰ γὰρ κακὰ τῷ ὄντι ἀνυπόστατα ὑπάρχουσι καὶ παρυφίστανται [*sic*], ὡς λέγεται ἐν ταῖς Πλατωνικαῖς σ υ ν ο υ σ ί α ις.

8. Simplicius, in *Ph.* pp. 545, 18 – 546, 21 Diels. *Ad* 209b33. Fr. 96, 4 Gigon, p. 346:

Τὸ δὲ μεθεκτικὸν ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀ γ ρ α φ ο ις ταῖς Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ σ υ ν ο υ σ ί α ις μέγα καὶ μικρὸν ἐκάλει, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τιμαίῳ ὕλην, ἣν καὶ τόπον καὶ χῶραν ὠνόμαζε ...

9. Philoponus, in *Ph.* p. 521, 9–15 Vitelli (CAG XVII). *Ad* 209b13. Fr. 96, 6 Gigon, p. 347:

Τουτέστιν ἄλλως ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ τὴν ὕλην ὀνομάζων καὶ ἄλλως ἐν τοῖς ἀ γ ρ α φ ο ις δ ό γ μ α σ ι ν, τουτέστιν ἐν ταῖς ἀ γ ρ α φ ο ις σ υ ν ο υ σ ί α ις. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἀ γ ρ α φ ο ις σ υ ν ο υ σ ί α ις μέγα καὶ μικρὸν ἐκάλει τὴν ὕλην.

d. Two References to Περὶ φιλοσοφίας

10. Philoponus, in *de Anima*, pp. 75, 34 – 78, 26 Hayduck (CAG XV). *Ad* 404b18. Fr. 97, 2 Gigon, p. 347 (Gaiser 25B, p. 486.):

Τὰ Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ ἐπιγραφόμενα Περὶ φιλοσοφίας λέγει· ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τὰς ἀ γ ρ α φ ο υς σ υ ν ο υ σ ί ας τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἱστορεῖ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης. ἔ σ τ ι δ ἐ γ ν ῆ σ ι ο ν αὐτοῦ τὸ β ι β λ ί ο ν. ἱστορεῖ οὖν ἐκεῖ τὴν Πλάτωνος καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων περὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν αὐτῶν δόξας.

11. Simplicius, in *de Anima*, pp. 28, 5 – 29, 23 Hayduck (CAG XI). *Ad* 404b18–19. Fr. 97, 3 Gigon, p. 349 (Gaiser *ibid.*):

Περὶ φιλοσοφίας νῦν λέγει τὰ Περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Πλάτωνος ἀναγεγραμμένα σ υ ν ο υ σ ί ας, ἐν οἷς ἱστορεῖ τὰς τε Πυθαγορείους καὶ τὰς Πλατωνικάς περὶ τῶν ὄντων δόξας.

B A Passage of the Seventh Letter

- Plato(?), *Seventh Letter* 341c4–d1:

οὐκ οὐκ ἐμὸν γε περὶ αὐτῶν ἔστιν σύγγραμμα οὐδὲ μήποτε γένηται· ῥῆτόν γάρ οὐδαμῶς ἐστιν ὡς ἄλλα μαθήματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῆς συνουσίας γιγνομένης περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ συζῆν ἐξαίφνης, οἷον ἀπὸ πυρός πηδῆσαντος ἐξαφθὲν φῶς, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γεγόμενον αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ ἤδη τρέφει.

C Epicrates

Epicrates, Fr. 10 (11) Kassel-Austin (Athenaeus 2.59d; Eustathius, *in Il.* p. 864, 31):

Τὶ Πλάτων
καὶ Σπεύσιππος καὶ Μενέδημος;
πρὸς τίσι νυνὶ διατρίβουσιν;
ποία φροντίς, ποῖος δὲ λόγος
διερευνᾶται παρὰ τοῖσιν;
τάδε μοι πινυτῶς, εἴ τι κατειδῶς
ἤκεις, λέξον, πρὸς Γ᾽ ἄς < > .
(B.) ἀλλ' οἶδα λέγειν περὶ τῶνδε σαφῶς.
Παναθηναίοις γὰρ ἰδὼν ἀγέλην
< > μειρακίων
ἐν γυμνασίοις Ἀκαδημείας
ἤκουσα λόγων ἀφάτων, ἀτόπων.
Περὶ γὰρ φύσεως ἀφοριζόμενοι
διεχώριζαν ζώων τε βίον
δένδρων τε φύσιν λαχάνων τε γένη,
κᾶτ' ἐν τούτοις τὴν κολοκύντην
ἐξήταζον τίνος ἐστὶ γένους.
(A.) καὶ τί ποτ' ἄρ' ὥρισαντο καὶ τίνος γένους
εἶναι το φυτὸν; δῆλωσον, εἰ κάτοισθ' ἄ γε.
(B.) πρῶτιστα μὲν <οὔν> πάντες ἀναυδεῖς
τότ' ἐπέστησαν καὶ κύψαντες
χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον διεφρόντιζον.
κᾶτ' ἐξαίφνης, ἔτι κυπτόντων
καὶ ζητούντων τῶν μειρακίων,
λαχανόν τις ἔφη στογγύλον εἶναι,
πόαν δ' ἄλλος, δένδρον δ' ἕτερος.
ταῦτα δ' ἀκούων ἱατρός τις
Σικελᾶς ἀπὸ γ᾽ ἄς
κατέπραδ' αὐτῶν ὥς ληρούντων.
(A.) ἥ που δεινῶς ὠργίσθησαν χλευάζεσθαι τ' ἐβόησαν;
τὸ γὰρ ἐν λέσχαις τοιαῖσδε † τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν εὐπρεπές.
(B.) οὐδ' ἐμέλησαν τοῖς μειρακίοις.
ὁ Πλάτων δὲ παρὼν καὶ μάλα πράως,
οὐδὲν ἐπέταξ' αὐτοῖς
πάλιν < >
ἀφορίζεσθαι τίνος ἐστὶ γένους.
Οἱ δὲ διήρουν.

**D Οἱ τὰς ιδέας τιθέμενοι (λέγοντες, and the like),
outside Arist. *Metaph.* M, 4**

a. In Metaph.

1. *Metaph.* A, 9.990a33–b2:

περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἀφείσθω τὰ νῦν ... οἱ δὲ τὰς ιδέας
τιθέμενοι πρῶτον μὲν ζητοῦντες τῶνδ' ὄντων λαβεῖν τὰς αἰτίας
ἕτερα τούτοις ἴσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐκόμισαν ...

2. *Metaph.* Z, 11.1036b13–15:

καὶ τῶν τὰς ιδέας λεγόντων οἱ μὲν αὐτογραμμὴν τὴν δυάδα, οἱ
δὲ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γραμμῆς ...

3. *Metaph.* Z, 14.1039a24–6:

φανερὸν δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων τὸ συμβαῖνον καὶ τοῖς τὰς ιδέας λέγουσιν
οὐσίαις χωριστάς εἶναι ...

4. *Metaph.* Λ, 8.1073a18–19:

ἀριθμούς γὰρ λέγουσι τὰς ιδέας οἱ λέγοντες ιδέας ...

5. *Metaph.* N, 1090a16–17:

οἱ μὲν οὖν τιθέμενοι τὰς ιδέας εἶναι, καὶ ἀριθμούς αὐτὰς εἶναι ...

6. *Metaph.* N, 1090b20–1:

τοῖς δὲ τὰς ιδέας τιθεμένοις τοῦτο μὲν ἐκφεύγει ...

b. Elsewhere

7. *Top.* B, 7.113a27–8:

δοκοῦσι γὰρ αἱ ιδέαι ἡρεμεῖν καὶ νοηταὶ εἶναι τοῖς τιθεμένοις ιδέας
εἶναι.

8. *Top.* Z, 6.143b23–4:

ἔστι δ' ὁ εἰρημένος τόπος χρήσιμος πρὸς τοὺς τιθεμένους ιδέας εἶναι.

9. *Top.* Z, 8.147a5–6:

... ἐπὶ τὰ εἶδη ἀκτέον τὸν τιθέμενον ιδέας εἶναι.

10. *Top.* Z, 10.148a20:

ἀπαθεῖς γὰρ καὶ ἀκίνητοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι αἱ ἰδέαι τοῖς λέγουσιν ἰδέας εἶναι ...

11. *Top.* H, 4.154a18–19:

ἔστι δὲ χρήσιμον τὸ τοιοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς τιθεμένους ἰδέας εἶναι.

12. *Ph.* B, 2.193b35–6:

λανθάνουσι δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες καὶ οἱ τὰς ἰδέας λέγοντες.

E Πλάτων, *outside Arist. Metaph. A, 6 and M, 4*

1. *Metaph.* B, 1.996a5–7:

... πότερον τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ ὄν, καθάπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἔλεγον, οὐχ ἕτερόν τί ἐστιν ἀλλ' οὐσία τῶν ὄντων, ἢ οὐ ...

(Cf. I, 2.1053b12–13, for the same idea.)

2. *Metaph.* B, 4.1001a9–11:

Πλάτων μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι οὐχ ἕτερόν τι τὸ ὄν οὐδὲ τὸ ἐν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν εἶναι ...

3. *Metaph.* Γ, 5.1010b12–13:

ὥσπερ καὶ Πλάτων λέγει, οὐ δήπου ὁμοίως κυρία ἢ τοῦ ἱατροῦ δόξα καὶ ἢ τοῦ ἀγνοοῦντος ... [*Th.* 178b9–c7].

4. *Metaph.* Δ, 11.1019a4:

ἢ διαιρέσει ἐχρήτο Πλάτων.

(Ross *ad loc.* assumes that this is based on 'an oral utterance'.)

5. *Metaph.* E, 2.1026b14:

διὸ Πλάτων τρόπον τινὰ οὐ κακῶς τὴν σοφιστικὴν περὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν ἔταξεν.

(Cf. K, 8.1064b29–30, almost in the same words.)

6. *Metaph.* Z, 2.1028b19–22:

... ὥσπερ Πλάτων τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ μαθηματικά δύο οὐσίας, τρίτην δὲ τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν σωμάτων οὐσίαν. Σπεύσιππος δὲ καὶ πλείους οὐσίας ...

(To be emphasized since this sentence alone is clearly taken from the 'ἄγραφα δόγματα'.)

7. *Metaph.* Λ, 6.1071b32–3:

... οἷον Λεύκιππος καὶ Πλάτων· ἀεὶ γὰρ εἶναι φασιν κίνησιν.

1071b37–1072a2:

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ Πλάτωνί γε οἷόν τε λέγειν ἣν οἶεται ἐνίοτε ἀρχὴν εἶναι, τὸ αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ κινουῦν.

8. *Metaph.* Μ, 1083a32–4:

εἰ δέ ἐστι τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ὥσπερ Πλάτων ἔλεγεν ἔχειν τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς, καὶ εἶναι δυνάδα πρώτην καὶ τριάδα.

9. *Ph.* 187a16–17 (Plato's τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ μικρόν are ὑπεροχὴ καὶ ἔλλειψις.); 203a4–6 (Plato and the Pythagoreans on an ἀρχή which is ὄν καὶ ἄπειρον); 203a15 (δύο τὰ ἄπειρα, τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ μικρόν); 206b27–8 (Πλάτων ... δύο τὰ ἄπειρα ἐποίησεν); 209b11–16 (contrast between *Timaeus* and τὰ λεγόμενα ἄγραφα δόγματα) as to the nature of χώρα); 209b33–4 (Πλάτωνι μέντοι λεκτέον ... διὰ τί οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ τὰ εἶδη ...); at 210a1–2, an explicit reference to *Timaeus*; 251b17–18 (reference to *Timaeus*).
10. *Top.* 122b26–7 (definition of φορά); 140a3–5 (Plato using unusual words); 140b3–4 (Plato defining soul as self-mover); 148a14–22 (The ἰδέα as defined by Plato).

The main similarities between *Metaph.* Α, 6 and Μ, 4 are quoted in our note 43. Note especially the close verbal similarity between Α, 6.987b5–8 and Μ, 4.1078b15–16; 13–21. In the Α, 6 passage, the discovery and the naming of the Ideas is ascribed to Plato. In the Μ, 4 passage, both are ascribed to οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς ἰδέας φήσαντες εἶναι.

*Plato and the Mathematics of the Academy**Vassilis Karasmanis***7.1 Introduction**

Plato opened his Academy probably in 387 BC. According to the ancient sources, this school was soon to become the centre of mathematical research in the Greek world. Although it is generally accepted that Plato was greatly interested in mathematics, the opinions of scholars and historians of mathematics vary considerably with regard to Plato's contribution to it. However, the ancient tradition as well as most modern historians agree that Plato's contribution to mathematics was decisive, especially in problems of methodology, systematization and the foundations of mathematics and its emancipation from experience. For them, Plato constitutes a real stage in the development of Greek mathematics. Thus, most historians of Greek mathematics dedicate chapters to Plato and characterize the fourth century – in which the great revolution of mathematics took place – as the century of Plato.¹ Nevertheless, some more recent historians think that the role of Plato, and more generally of philosophy, in mathematics has been overestimated. Mathematics was autonomous and independent from philosophy, and if there is any debt, it is one that philosophy owes to mathematics. Some people even dispute the contribution of the Academy in the area of mathematics.² Zhmud, for example, says that 'Plato knew and loved mathematics and often used mathematical examples in his reasoning, but this love was not mutual.'³ And a bit further: 'It is difficult to imagine Plato himself teaching mathematics. What then was taught in the Academy if not mathematics? The easiest answer is dialectic; the most honest answer is that we do not know.' His reasoning is lame. From the

¹ See, for example, Van der Waerden 1954: ch. 6; Sarton 1952, vol. 1: ch. 16, 17; Gow 1884: ch. 6; Lasserre 1964: ch. 1; Lloyd 1970: ch. 6; Heath 1921, vol. 1: ch. 9; Farrington 1961: ch. 7.

² See Knorr 1982: 112–14; Neugebauer 1952: 152; Mueller 1969.

³ See Zhmud 1998: 235. This paper is almost the same as chapter 3 of Zhmud 2006.

premise that Plato was not a teacher of mathematics he concludes that nobody taught mathematics or worked on mathematics in the Academy. However, I believe that it is more likely to suppose that at the time of Plato (at least) there had already been an interrelation between mathematics and philosophy, since most of the mathematicians of that time were also philosophers (Archytas, Theaetetus, Leodamas, Leon, Eudoxus, Menaechmus, Philippus of Medme, Heraclides etc.). These mathematicians, who were all related to the Academy, worked out a transformation in mathematics and led geometry to its axiomatization.

I shall first examine the external evidence that relates the Academy to mathematics and represents it as a centre of mathematical research. Plato is presented by later authors in three different ways: a) as a mathematician, b) as a foundationalist and methodologist and c) as a director or 'architect' of mathematics. I shall support the thesis that although Plato was not an active mathematician, he made a significant contribution to the foundation and axiomatization of mathematics. He also exhorted the mathematicians of the Academy – or related to it – to work in such directions as to free their science from empirical elements and to develop new fields. Relying on evidence from the dialogues, I shall support the thesis that Plato announces in the *Republic* a research programme (for mathematician–philosophers) of reducing the principles of mathematics to the most elementary and prior ones, developing in this way the axiomatization of mathematics. We know that this programme was realized by the mathematicians of the Academy. This evidence fits very well with external evidence presenting Plato as an 'architect' or 'director' of mathematics.

7.2 The Academy as a Centre of Mathematical Research

A. Greek mathematicians of the fifth century often employed heuristic or practical methods and were content with loose or informal proofs. However, informal procedures, such as the mechanical methods of Archytas, Hippias and Archimedes, are the usual route by which new discoveries are made to advance a field. The fifth-century solutions of the three great problems 'involved very ingenious operations, apparently much more complex than those involved in, say, bisecting an angle. It is not surprising that the question of whether these solutions were satisfactory remained open.'⁴ At that time, mathematics consisted mainly of a

⁴ Mueller 1969: 293.

number of theorems and problems, sometimes with alternative proofs or solutions established by various mathematicians using different methods and hypotheses.

What was missing in the geometry of the beginning of the fourth century was its formulation as a unified system. At that time, a new generation of geometers appeared (Archytas, Leodamas, Theaetetus, Leon, Eudoxus). According to Eudemus (Proclus, *in Euc.* 66–7), the aforementioned new generation of mathematicians fulfilled this task. They paid more attention to rigorous methodology and foundation than to the solution of problems. Archytas (Arist. *Metaph.* 1043a21–2) and Theaetetus (Plato, *Thet.* 147d–e) tried to find general definitions, Leodamas discovered(?) and applied the method of analysis and synthesis, Leon discovered *diorismoi* and wrote the first *Elements* in an axiomatic form. Eudoxus discovered the method of exhaustion and a new theory of proportions capable of application to both numbers and magnitudes.⁵

Plato described in a lively manner the difference between these two generations of mathematicians in the persons of Theodorus and Theaetetus (*Thet.* 143e–148d). Theodorus was interested in problems and their solution. He was not used to dialectical discussions (146b3). On the other hand, Theaetetus had a great interest in philosophy, in foundational problems and general definitions in mathematics. These interests of the new generation of mathematicians were also related to the general intellectual atmosphere in Greece at the beginning of the fourth century. The epoch of the natural philosophers had definitely passed. There was a real interest in logical, ethical and political problems combined with an anti-empirical trend. The existing evidence supports the idea that this new generation of mathematicians was mostly related to the Academy and Plato.

B. Aristotle, in his *Metaphysics* (992a31), referring to the Academy, says that ‘for modern thinkers philosophy has become mathematics’, and his

⁵ For the method of exhaustion see Archimedes, *On the Sphere and Cylinder*, book 1 preface, together with the preface to the *Quadrature of the Parabola*. For the new theory of proportions there is an anonymous scholium to Euclid’s book 5 that says that this general theory of proportions ‘is the discovery of Eudoxus the teacher of Plato’ (Euclid, ed. Heiberg and Stamatidis 1969–77, vol. 5, part 1: 211). Heath remarks that ‘there is no reason to doubt the truth of this statement. The new theory appears to have been already familiar to Aristotle. Moreover, the fundamental principles show clear points of contact with those used in the method of exhaustion, also due to Eudoxus’ (Heath 1921, vol. 1: 325–6). Indeed, Aristotle (*Posterior Analytics* 74a18 ff.), referring to a theorem of the theory of proportions, says that ‘in the past it was proved separately for numbers, lines, solids and times; but now the proposition is proved generally.’

commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias comments on this passage: 'because of their [the Platonists'] eagerness to study mathematics (τὰ μαθήματα) and their conviction that philosophy is reasoning about these things, they spent all their time in the study of mathematical science ... They philosophized only about mathematical objects and dealt only with them' (in *Metaph.* 121.25 ff.). It is not certain whether Aristotle (when speaking about 'modern thinkers') refers here to the Academy at the time of Plato or only to the Academy at the time of Speusippus and Xenocrates. However, Isocrates (*Panath.* 27–8), referring to the Academy, remarks that 'it is worth studying mathematics at a young age, but those who have become so thoroughly versed in these studies as to instruct others in them do not become wiser in the other things'. Even if this speech was written soon after the death of Plato,⁶ it is more than probable that Isocrates refers to the Academy not only at the time of Speusippus but also at the time of Plato. Isocrates expresses similar views also in the *Antidosis* (261–8), a work written at least ten years before the *Panathenaicus*.⁷ From these passages we see that the Academy was a place where, as well as philosophy, mathematical research and teaching were cultivated. We know almost nothing about the mathematics of Speusippus and Xenocrates, in contrast with their mathematical philosophy, but Diogenes Laertius (4.5) mentions that Speusippus wrote a *Μαθηματικός* and a book *On Pythagorean Numbers*.⁸ Xenocrates also wrote a treatise *On Mathematics* in six books, another *On Geometers* in five books, one *On Numbers*, one *Theory of Numbers*, one *On Astrology* and one *On Geometry* in two books (D.L. 6.13–14).

C. The main evidence about mathematics and the Academy is found in the famous *Summary of Geometers* in the commentary of Proclus on the first book of Euclid's *Elements* (ed. Friedlein, 65–8). Historians and scholars believe that this passage is a fragment from Eudemus' lost *History of*

⁶ Isocrates, at the beginning of this work, says that he is ninety-four years old. This means that he was writing the *Panathenaicus* (or at least the part 1–107) in 342 BC, five years after the death of Plato. In fourth-century Athens, the school of Isocrates (probably opened in 392 BC) and the Academy were rivals and Isocrates' criticism in terms of education is mainly addressed against Plato and the Academy; see Jaeger 1944, vol. 3: 46, 49, 101–2; Field 1948: 33–4; Ober 2004: 26.

⁷ In that passage, Isocrates denies a high place in education to teachers of mathematics. He considers that mathematical sciences have value only as 'a gymnastics of the soul'. Students do well to spend some time on them in order to train their mind, but serious education is for other things (265).

⁸ Iamblichus, *Theologumena Arithmeticae* (ed. Falco) 82.14–15.

Geometry.⁹ The evidence for the attribution of the *Summary* to Eudemus is that after the exposition of a long series of geometers from Thales to Philippus of Medme,¹⁰ Proclus continues: 'Those who have written histories bring to this point their account of the development of this science. Not long after these men came Euclid ...'.¹¹ As far as we know, the only person who wrote a History of Geometry before Euclid was Eudemus, Aristotle's pupil. For the early period of Greek mathematics, Proclus draws heavily upon Eudemus,¹² referring to him many times by name (e.g. 125.7, 299.3, 333.6, 352.14, 379.2 and 419.15). In the *Summary*, Plato is given a special place. Moreover, all famous mathematicians of the fourth century appear to be placed in relation to him.¹³ After speaking about Plato, the author of the *Summary* says that 'at the same time also lived Leodamas of Thasos, Archytas of Tarentum and Theaetetus of Athens, by whom the theorems were increased in number and brought into a more scientific arrangement'. The author of the *Summary* does not say that these three mathematicians had any relation to Plato but that

⁹ See Heath 1921, vol. 1: 118–20; Van der Waerden 1954: 91; Morrow 1970: 52, n. 24; Knorr 1975: 15–16; Burnyeat 2000: 24, n. 35; Wehrli 1969: fr. 133, comment *ad loc.*

¹⁰ Philippus of Medme (or Mende) is probably the same as the pupil of Plato Philippus of Opus, who edited and published the *Laws* and who was probably the author of the *Epinomis* (see Diogenes Laertius, 3.37; Tarán 1975: 133–9).

¹¹ Translations from Proclus' commentary are taken from Morrow 1970.

¹² See Morrow 1970: xxvii. We can divide the whole *Summary* into four sections: a) the introduction (64.3–65.7) that refers to the Egyptian origin of geometry; b) the part from Thales to Hippocrates (65.7–66.8); c) the part from Plato to Philippus (66.8–68.6); and d) the final part (68.6–70.18) that refers to Euclid, with some references to Archimedes and Eratosthenes. At the end of part c) we have the statement that 'those who have written histories bring to this point their account of the development of this science'. This means that part d) does not derive information from Eudemus, who, after all, is older than Euclid. It was probably written by Proclus. In speaking here about the *Summary*, I mean mainly sections b) and c).

¹³ The emphasis that the *Summary* gives to Plato (and to Pythagoras) and also the absence from it of the name of Democritus has led some people to question the attribution of the *Summary* to Eudemus. There is no reason to believe that Eudemus, being an Aristotelian, should have given such a central role to Plato and excluded Democritus from his history. Thus, Lasserre (1987: 612–15) proposes the view that the passage is to be traced back to Philip's book *On Plato*. However, Lasserre does not explain how it is possible for a book on Plato to contain a short history of geometers from the Egyptians to Hippocrates. After all, Philip's book was not a book of history and Proclus speaks of 'those who have written histories'. It is only Eudemus who wrote a history of geometry. Nevertheless, it is probable that the *Summary* was edited by Proclus or another Neoplatonic author. Zhmud (1998: 223) believes that the *Summary* was compiled by Porphyry on the basis of Eudemus' writings and 'the passages about Plato and Philip ... might have been inserted into the catalogue by Porphyry'. But even if the *Summary* was edited by a later Neoplatonic author, it seems reasonable to me that the main corpus of the *Summary* belongs to Eudemus, and that all the names that were included in it were also present in the original Eudemian text. The phrase of Proclus 'those who have written histories bring to this point their account of the development of this science', I think, supports my opinion.

‘they lived at the same time’. However, the relation of Plato to Theaetetus is attested by him in the homonymous dialogue and his acquaintance with Archytas is also attested in other sources (e.g. Plato, *Seventh Letter*¹⁴ 338c, 339d, 350a; Diogenes Laertius, 3.21; 8.79–81; Plutarch, *Dio* 18.5, 20.1; *Marcellus* 14). Plato’s acquaintance with Leodamas is attested by Diogenes Laertius (3.24) and Proclus (*in Euc.* 211.18–23).¹⁵

The *Summary* continues with Neoclides, younger than Leodamas, and Neoclides’ pupil Leon, who wrote *Elements* and discovered *diorismoι*. A little younger than Leon was the famous mathematician Eudoxus of Cnidus, ‘a member of Plato’s group’ according to the *Summary*. After Eudoxus, ‘Amyclas of Heracleia, one of Plato’s followers, Menaechmus,¹⁶ a student of Eudoxus who also was associated with Plato, and his brother Dinostratus made the whole of geometry more perfect’ (67.2–12). After them comes Theudius of Magnesia, who wrote better *Elements*, and Athenaeus of Cyzicus, who became eminent in many branches of mathematics.

The author of the *Summary* says now that ‘these men lived together in the Academy, making their enquiries in common’ (67.19–20). Who are these mathematicians who lived and worked together in the Academy? We have three possibilities. Firstly, all those who are mentioned after Plato: that is, all of them, from Leodamas to Athenaeus. Secondly, all the mathematicians from Neoclides to Athenaeus, if we suppose that Leodamas, Archytas and Theaetetus, who were contemporaries of Plato, were not pupils of his or members of the Academy. Thirdly, the mathematicians from Eudoxus to Athenaeus, since Eudoxus is the first mathematician in the list of whom the author of the *Summary* says he was ‘a member of Plato’s group’ (*hetairoi*). I find the first possibility rather unlikely. Archytas, Leodamas and Theaetetus were of the same age as Plato, friends and associates. It is difficult to consider them pupils of Plato, but it is quite probable that they (all or some of them) had some kind of relation to the Academy. We know nothing else about Neoclides and Leon apart from this passage.

¹⁴ Even if the *Seventh Letter* is not authentic, there is no need to doubt the accuracy of the historical events it relates.

¹⁵ The spurious *Eleventh Letter* of Plato is addressed to Leodamas. This shows that, for the later tradition, Leodamas was considered a friend of Plato.

¹⁶ Menaechmus was a famous mathematician to whom Proclus refers several times (72.24 ff., 78.9 ff., 111.22 ff., 254.4). It seems that he discovered the conic sections and was interested in theoretical and methodological problems. See Heath 1921, vol. 1: 251–5.

However, in another paper of mine,¹⁷ I propose the view that Leon the mathematician is the same person as Leon of Byzantium (see Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 485; Plutarch, *Phocion* 14; cf. *Nicias* 22), pupil of Plato and friend of the general Phocion, and perhaps the same person as Leon the Academician who wrote the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Alcyon* (see Diogenes Laertius, 3.62; Athenaeus, 9.506). If, therefore, Leon the geometer was a member of the Academy, I find the second possibility more probable.

Regarding the mathematicians from Eudoxus to Athenaeus, there are many testimonies that certify the acquaintance of Eudoxus with Plato and the Academy.¹⁸ According to the *Summary*, Amyclas of Heracleia was 'one of Plato's followers'. This is also attested by Diogenes Laertius (3.46, 9.40 – *ap.* Aristoxenus) and Claudius Aelianus (*Varia Historia* 3.19). The next name is that of Menaechmus, of whom Eudemus explicitly says that he was 'associated with Plato' (67.9–10). Plutarch¹⁹ associates him with Plato, and the *Suda* (*ad loc.*) refers to him as a 'Platonic philosopher'. The debate he had with Speusippus, on theorems and problems (Proclus, *in Euc.* 78), shows that he was member of the Academy or related to it. We do not know anything else about Dinostratus apart from a reference to him by Pappus (*Collectio* 4.30) that connects him with the problem of squaring the circle. But since he was a brother of Menaechmus, and Eudemus refers to the two brothers together, we can suppose that he too was associated with the Academy. For Theudius and Athenaeus of Cyzicus there is no other testimony beyond that of Eudemus.

Finally, we have two other mathematicians, Hermotimus of Colophon and Philippus of Medme. We have no other piece of information about Hermotimus, but since he 'pursued further the investigations already begun by Eudoxus and Theaetetus' it is quite probable to suppose that he had some relation to the mathematicians of the Academy. Of Philippus of Medme (or Opus), Eudemus says that he was a pupil of Plato 'whom Plato had encouraged to study mathematics, also carried his investigations according to Plato's instructions and set himself to study all the problems that he thought would contribute to Plato's philosophy' (67.24–68.4). There are also many other testimonies relating Philippus with Plato and the Academy.²⁰

¹⁷ Karasmanis 2009.

¹⁸ These are collected by Lasserre, 1966: 3–11.

¹⁹ *Quaest. conv.* 8.2.1.

²⁰ See Lasserre 1987: 158–88.

From Eudemos' *Summary* we can conclude that Plato was connected with many mathematicians, most of them active in the Academy. In this way, the Academy became the most significant centre of mathematical research, where many new discoveries took place.

D. In Heron of Alexandria's *Definitions* (ch. 136, section 1) we find a very concise history of geometers, which may be a shortened version of Eudemos' *Summary*.²¹ Plato holds a central position in this account, and the geometers mentioned are divided into two groups, those before Plato and those after Plato. After Plato, we have the names of Leodamas, Archytas, Theaetetus and Eudoxus. However, nothing is said in this passage about these geometers being members of the Academy or associated with Plato. We have only an enumeration of names. Of Euclid, it is said that he was younger than Plato and older than Eratosthenes and Archimedes. The only conclusion we can draw from this passage is that, at the time of Heron,²² Plato was believed to be a significant figure in the history of geometry.

E. A very significant text for our purpose is the *History of the Academy* by Philodemus (first century BC).²³ At the beginning of this *History*, the author refers to the development of mathematics in the Academy at the time of Plato. We read:

At this time the mathematical sciences were also greatly advanced, with Plato being the architect (ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντος) of this development; he set problems (προβλήματα διδόντος) for the mathematicians, who in turn eagerly studied them. In this way *metrologia* [theory of proportions?] and research on definitions reached its peak, as Eudoxus of Cnidus and his students completely revised the old theory of Hippocrates of Chios. Especially great progress was made in geometry, as the method of analysis and *diorismos* (τὸ περὶ διορισμούς λήμμα) were discovered. Optics and mechanics also were not [left in contempt].²⁴

²¹ After stating the name of Eudoxus, Heron says 'to the three proportionals he added three more': a statement applied to Eudoxus which is exactly the same as that in Eudemos' *Summary*.

²² The time of Heron's flourishing is uncertain. It is posited that it fell somewhere between the second century BC and the beginning of the third century AD. See Heath (1921, vol. 2: 298–306) who supports a late dating. The authenticity of the *Definitions* was questioned by Knorr (1993: 180–8). Heath (1921, vol. 2: 316) says that this work 'may have been recast by some editor after Heron's time, but it seems, at least in substance, to go back to Heron or earlier still'.

²³ Column Y of PHerc. 1021. See in Dorandi 1991a: 125–8. This passage was formerly known as *Academicorum Philosophorum Index Herculaneensis* (ed. Meckler).

²⁴ Dorandi 1991a: 126–7; translation taken from Zhmud 1998: 219. It is quite probable that Philodemus draws on some early source. Unfortunately the name of this early author (if there is such a source) does not appear in the extant parts of the papyrus. Lasserre (1987: 611–15) finds this passage to be very similar to the *Summary* and believes that it comes from Plato's pupil Philippus of Opus. Gaiser (1988: 76, 97, 342 ff.) argues that the author of this passage is the Peripatetic Dicaearchus.

This passage is in full agreement with Eudemus' *Summary*. We have a clear statement for the great advancement in mathematics that was carried out in the Academy at the time of Plato. Plato's contribution to that advancement was of great importance, albeit not as a mathematician but as an 'architect' or supervisor.²⁵ Only two mathematicians are named, Hippocrates of Chios, who was a generation older than Plato, and Eudoxus. The reference to Eudoxus has to do with his new theory of proportion that applies to both numbers and magnitudes (see note 5). The passage says also that 'research on definitions reached its peak'. This seems to suggest a philosophical influence on problems of the foundations of mathematics.²⁶ The passage says that the greatest progress among mathematical sciences was made in geometry, and relates this progress with the discovery of the method of analysis and *diorismos* (surveying the conditions for the solvability of problems). This is very interesting. We learn from other sources that the method of analysis is related to the names of Plato and Leodamas, and *diorismos* to that of Leon. This passage, therefore, gives another piece of evidence that these two mathematicians were working within the framework of the Academy. The reference to the progress of optics and mechanics appears strange. These are applied mathematical sciences, and are not mentioned in Plato's curriculum in the seventh book of the *Republic*. However, Plato, in the *Republic*, is speaking about the studies of the rulers of his ideal city and not about the mathematicians of the Academy. Many of the mathematicians connected with the Academy were mature researchers who, beyond possible common research programmes, followed their own interests and research.²⁷ Summarizing, we see that this passage presents the Academy as a centre of mathematical research in which progress was made in four ways: 1) new mathematical propositions were proposed and demonstrated ('mathematical sciences were greatly advanced'); 2) new methods appeared (analysis); 3) new areas of mathematics were developed (new theory of proportions, optics, mechanics); 4) special attention was given to foundational problems (definitions).

F. In an anonymous scholium on Aristophanes²⁸ we find a connection between Plato, the Academy and mathematics. Here we read that 'the

²⁵ I shall discuss the role of Plato as an 'architect' in Section 7.5 of this chapter.

²⁶ I shall discuss this point in Section 7.4.

²⁷ See *Republic* 528c1. I think that the expression ζητητικοὶ μεγαλοφρονούμενοι refers to the well-known mathematicians of his time.

²⁸ See Koster 1974: 1005d alpha 1–4.

school of Plato was called the Academy, in which he expounded to scholars his accounts and mathematics (τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ μαθήματα). Although it is difficult to believe that Plato was teaching mathematics, the scholium says that alongside philosophy, mathematics was cultivated in the Academy. We do not know the source and the date (which is probably quite late) of this scholium. Nevertheless, as secondary evidence, it corroborates the thesis that the Academy was a centre for mathematical studies.²⁹

7.3 Plato as a Mathematician

Plato knew very well the mathematics of his time. His dialogues are peppered with mathematics. He is fully aware of the problem of incommensurability (*Meno* 82b–85b, *Theaetetus* 147d–148b, *Laws* 819d–820c, *Parmenides* 140b–c), the theory of proportions (*Timaeus* 31b–32c, *Gorgias* 465b–c, *Republic* 509d–510a), plane and solid geometry (*Meno* 82b–85b, 86e–87c, *Timaeus* 53c–56c, 56d–e), arithmetic (*Republic* 337b, 546b–d, *Parmenides* 143d–144a, *Politicus* 262d–e, *Timaeus* 35b–36b, *Laws* 757e–758a), astronomy (*Timaeus* 38b–39e), and even optics (*Timaeus* 45b–46c). Nevertheless, Plato was not an active mathematician. There is no evidence from his dialogues that he solved problems or proved theorems. Philodemus refers to him as an ‘architect’ of mathematics and not as a mathematician. Eudemus (in his *Summary*, 66.8–14) says that ‘Plato ... greatly advanced mathematics in general and geometry in particular because of his zeal for these studies. It is well known that his writings are thickly sprinkled with mathematical terms and that he constantly tries to arouse admiration for mathematics among students of philosophy.’ Plato is not presented here as an active mathematician but as a philosopher who has a great esteem for mathematics and urges younger philosophers to work on it. We also have no external evidence presenting Plato as an active mathematician. The only exception is the solution of the Delian problem (duplication of the cube) attributed to him by Eutocius.³⁰ This solution, however, is wrongly attributed to Plato. No

²⁹ Many late authors (see e.g. Philoponus, in *APo.* 36.9; in *GA et Corr.* 210.12; in *de An.* 117.27; Olympiodorus, *Prolegomena* 9.1; Themistius, in *APo.* 26.2; Pseudo-Galenus, *De partibus philosophiae*, section 2.5; Elias, in *Cat.* 118.18, 119.4; David, *Proleg. Philosophiae* 57.19) report the story that at the entrance of the Academy one could read the following inscription: ‘Let no one unskilled in geometry enter’. Although this story is probably not true, it shows that in late antiquity the Academy was acknowledged as a centre of mathematics.

³⁰ In his commentary on the work of Archimedes, *On the Sphere and Cylinder* (Archimedes, ed. Heiberg and Stamatis 1969–77, vol. 3: 56–8, 88–90).

other source confirms this. Moreover, its attribution to Plato contradicts what Eutocius says later (*Archimedes*, ed. Heiberg, vol. 3, 88–90), referring to an alleged letter of Eratosthenes to King Ptolemy. In this letter, it is said that certain Delians ‘who were commanded by the oracle to double a certain altar ... sent over to beg the geometers who were with Plato in the Academy to find them the solution’.³¹ Archytas, Eudoxus and Menaechmus managed to give solutions to the problem. In this story, it is not Plato himself but the mathematicians of the Academy that solved the problem. Also, the solution attributed to Plato is not geometrical but mechanical: something that does not fit well with Plato’s ideas about mathematics as found in the *Republic*. In another story, related by Plutarch,³² it is said that Plato blamed Eudoxus, Archytas and Menaechmus for using instruments and mechanical constructions in their efforts to double the cube. Therefore, it seems impossible to attribute this solution to Plato himself, although it is very probable that the problem was studied in the Academy.³³

7.4 Plato as a Foundationalist and Methodologist of Mathematics

A. Aristotle, in his *Metaphysics* (998a2–4, see also *APo.* 76b39–42) says that Protagoras, criticizing the mathematicians of his time, used to say that the tangent (i.e. a ruler) does not touch the circle only at one point. We do not know whether the mathematicians of the late fifth century had reacted to this criticism or not and in what way, but Plato’s Theory of Forms gives a definite answer to this criticism. The objects of mathematics are not sensible but ideal, having perfect properties. There are no perfect lines or geometrical figures in the sensible world. A sensible circle is only an imitation of the ideal circle. The better the imitation, the closer it is to the ideal circle. When a geometer draws a figure in order to prove a theorem, he does not think of this specific sensible figure but of the ideal one.³⁴ It is this that gives to his proofs their generality. Even if Plato did not develop his Theory of Forms with mathematics in mind, he has given a solution to the ontological problem of mathematics, and since then almost all mathematicians have followed, more or less, his line of thought. In this sense, he greatly contributed to the foundations of mathematics.

³¹ The same story, more or less, occurs in Theon of Smyrna (*Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium*, ed. Hiller 1878: 2.3–12) and in Plutarch (*De genio Socratis* 579b–d; *De E apud Delphos* 386c).

³² *Quaest. conv.* 8.2.1.

³³ Similarly, see Heath 1921, vol. 1: 246.

³⁴ See *Republic* 510d5–e1.

B. Now I shall try to evaluate the nature of Plato's contribution (if any) to the foundation and axiomatization of mathematics. Firstly, I shall try to show that the *Republic* gives us a picture of mathematics (geometry) as a science that has already been transformed into an axiomatic system. After that, I shall try to find out what kind of principles were the 'hypotheses' of mathematics that Plato speaks about. Distinguishing between two kinds of mathematical definitions (definitions of the most elementary mathematical objects, like units, points, lines, etc., that are not used in mathematical proofs, and definitions of objects lower in the hierarchy, like odd and even numbers, triangles, etc., that are often invoked in proofs) I shall answer that the hypotheses of mathematics were definitions of the second kind – plus, perhaps, other statements about the things defined. I shall then attempt to show that, according to Plato, it is the task of the philosopher to go beyond these hypotheses and to arrive at the most elementary concepts and theorems of all the mathematical sciences, achieving, in this way, a comprehensive and overall view of them. According to my interpretation, Plato announces in the *Republic* a research programme (for mathematician–philosophers) of reducing the principles of mathematics to the most elementary and prior ones, developing in this way the axiomatization of mathematics. We know that this programme was realized by the mathematicians of the Academy. My aim here is also to show – in trying to find the Platonic origin of many of the definitions and axioms of Euclid's *Elements* – that Plato himself contributed to it.³⁵

Plato, in the *Republic*, says about the mathematical sciences that: a) mathematicians are compelled to begin from hypotheses, not proceeding to a starting point, but to an end (510b5–6); b) assuming knowledge of these hypotheses, they do not purport to give any account of them either to themselves or to others, as if they were plain to all (510c6–d1); c) beginning from these hypotheses, they go through the rest, and end consistently³⁶ with that which they set out to examine (510d1–3, cf. 533c1–5); d)

³⁵ Part B of this section of my paper is taken, with some additions and minor changes, from Karasmanis 1990.

³⁶ The word *ὁμολογουμένως*, at 510d1, is ambiguous. It may mean either 'consistently' or 'in agreement' (between teacher and pupil or the interlocutors). The same ambiguity recurs in 533c: 'how can such *ὁμολογία* ever become knowledge?'. However, here, as in *Cratylus* 436d4, the word *ὁμολογία* refers to 'agreement' or 'consistency' between propositions. Moreover, given that Plato is here speaking about mathematics, I think that the rendering of *ὁμολογουμένως* with 'consistently' gives a better sense of the meaning that Plato had in mind.

mathematics forms a body constituted from first principles, conclusions and intermediate propositions woven together (συμπλέκεσθαι) (533C1–4).

The characteristics that Plato ascribes to mathematics give us a picture of it as a deductively organized science. Mathematics is a science rationally organized into a system in which one is able to see what is basic, what is derived, and how each conclusion is derived from previous propositions. Mathematics proceeds downwards from the hypotheses (first principles)³⁷ to the end. Those first principles are viewed by the mathematicians as self-evident or ‘plain to all’ (παντὶ φανερόν, 510D1). All these characteristics are characteristics of a science already organized into an axiomatic system.³⁸

But what kind of first principles were the ‘hypotheses’ Plato speaks about? Plato says (510C–511A) that the mathematicians a) hypothesize ‘the odd and the even, the figures, the three kinds of angles and so on’; b) treat them as if they knew them, making them hypotheses; c) refuse to give any account of them because they think that they are plain to everybody; and d) are compelled to use hypotheses in their investigation and do not reach a (real) beginning since they cannot go above the hypotheses. When Plato says that the mathematicians hypothesize ‘the odd and the even, the figures, the three kinds of angles and so on’, we have to suppose that the hypotheses of the mathematicians were definitions of these terms.³⁹

Plato finds two defects in mathematics compared to dialectic (510C–E): First, the use of sensible diagrams and secondly, the use of hypotheses. I shall not examine the first one because it is not relevant to my topic. The second mark of mathematics that makes it inferior to dialectic is not the

³⁷ We must note that it is Plato who calls the principles of mathematics hypotheses. We do not know whether the mathematicians used this term for their principles. They accepted them unquestionably as true and plain to all. Only the philosopher recognizes that the principles of mathematics are unexamined assumptions whose truth has still to be established. Therefore, Plato thinks that the mathematicians do not treat certain propositions as hypotheses when they ought to.

³⁸ By an axiomatic system, I mean something similar to Euclid’s *Elements*, or even less rigorous, in which some first principles are posited at the beginning.

³⁹ R. M. Hare (1964) proposes that the hypotheses of mathematics are not propositions but ‘things’ (Forms or concepts), and ‘giving an account of them’ means ‘giving a definition of them’. Thus, Plato criticizes the mathematicians because they introduce entities like the ‘odd’ and the ‘even’ into their discussions without defining them. However, it is not true that the mathematicians of Plato’s time did not give definitions. There is plenty of evidence for the opposite. For a criticism of Hare’s views and a defence of the view that the hypotheses are definitions, see Taylor 1967 and Karasmanis 1990: 123–4. Also, the hypotheses cannot be axioms (common notions or postulates, in Euclidean terminology). These notions are introduced in Euclid’s *Elements* in definitions but not in axioms involving them.

use of hypotheses in itself, but the fact that the hypotheses are considered as self-evident by the mathematicians (although they are not), and are thus left unexamined (510c6–d1, 533b7–c5). Mathematics cannot rise above the hypotheses to arrive at a non-hypothetical principle (511a). Because of this, mathematics alone cannot give perfect knowledge, but only hypothetical knowledge (533c1–5). Only dialectic proceeds to the non-hypothetical first principle and achieves perfect knowledge (533c6–8). Mathematics could achieve the status of perfect knowledge only when the philosopher (not the mathematician), after arriving at the non-hypothetical principle, reaches mathematics, on his way down.⁴⁰ As long as mathematics remains an independent axiomatic system with unexamined principles, it is not remediable. Plato does not exhort the mathematicians to free their science from the above defects. The mathematician thinks his principles are self-evident, and since he offers proofs of his theorems, he is all right. The examination of the principles of mathematics is not the task of the mathematician, but of the philosopher. The above ‘defect’ of mathematics is a defect only in comparison to dialectic. Plato does not criticize the mathematicians for it.

Plato’s statement that mathematicians are compelled to start from hypotheses (510b5, 511a4) and cannot go above them (511a5–6) has puzzled scholars. What is it that compels the geometer not to examine his initial assumptions? I would like to propose the following answer: the geometer, as long as he practises geometry, is interested in proving theorems and solving problems. In pursuing this task, he needs some first principles (definitions, axioms) from which to start and which he can use in his demonstrations. The definitions that the mathematician needs for his proofs are those of the odd, the even, the circle, the right angle etc. In Euclid’s *Elements*, definitions of the most elementary mathematical objects, like points, lines, straight lines, surfaces, plane surfaces, angles, boundaries, figures (book 1, def. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 14), units, numbers (book 7, def. 1, 2), solids (book 11, def. 1) are never invoked in proofs and, in this sense, are mathematically useless.⁴¹ On the other hand, definitions of objects like odd numbers, even numbers, kinds of angles and various figures are frequently invoked and play an essential role in proofs.⁴²

⁴⁰ We must bear in mind that the objects of mathematics are ‘intelligible with a principle’ (511d2). See, similarly, White 1976: 96; Cross and Woosley 1964: 242; Annas 1981: 279.

⁴¹ Ian Mueller (1981: 40) has observed that definitions of the most elementary mathematical objects are not used in demonstrations in Euclid’s *Elements*.

⁴² Definitions of the second category give either the rule of construction of the mathematical object or the essential property that makes the construction possible.

Therefore, the hypotheses used by the mathematicians, according to Plato (such as the odd, the even, the figures etc.) are useful in demonstrations. On the other hand, examination and definition of the most primary objects (boundaries, points, lines, units, solids etc.), whose definitions are not invoked in proofs, are not necessary for the mathematician, and leave him indifferent.⁴³ It is not the task of the geometer to go beyond the hypotheses as long as he works as a mathematician and not as a philosopher. The examination of the hypotheses is the task of the philosopher.⁴⁴ But this 'defect' of mathematics is a defect only in comparison to dialectic.⁴⁵

The mathematician who is going to become a philosopher passes from the various mathematical sciences to the stage of an overall comprehensive and synoptic view of all sciences (531d). That is, a comparative enquiry into the sciences and their principles (συνακτέον εἰς σύνοψιν οἰκειότητός τε ἀλλήλων τῶν μαθημάτων καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄντος φύσεως ... ὁ μὲν γὰρ συνοπτικὸς διαλεκτικὸς, ὁ δὲ μὴ οὐ, 537c). At this stage, the future philosopher, grasping the essential features of each branch of study, correlates the separate hypotheses of the different sciences, and relates mathematical Forms to non-mathematical Forms within a more comprehensive analysis.⁴⁶ In 537c1–3, Plato speaks about bringing the μαθήματα together with τοῦ ὄντος φύσεως, that is, mathematical and other Forms. So, the 'very long task' (πάμπολου ἔργον) of 531d5 refers to the bringing together of the various mathematical sciences. This stage may fall under *dianoia* (531d7: τοῦ προοιμίου; cf. 537c1–3), but it is really a transitional stage between *dianoia* and *epistēmē*, which takes place only after the independent study of the various sciences (531c9–d4). This stage is necessary for the future philosopher who must be *synoptikos* (537c7), that is, able to see the affinities and communion between the various branches of knowledge.

⁴³ Cf. Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1005a11: 'this also explains why it does not fall to the geometer to study the question what is the contrary, or complete, or one, or thing-that-is, or the same, or other, except on the basis of a hypothesis.'

⁴⁴ Only dialectic proceeds beyond the hypotheses (*R.* 511b). Cf. *Euthydemus* 190b–c.

⁴⁵ Nevertheless, there are 'defects' proper to mathematics, and in this case Plato clearly criticizes the mathematicians and exhorts them to remedy these defects (see 527d, 530b, 531a). I shall discuss this in the next section.

⁴⁶ Cf. Annas 1981: 285–6; Gulley 1962: 59; Solmsen 1977: 88; Crombie 1963: 555. See also Proclus, *in Euc.* 7–8: 'let us enumerate the single theorems that are common to them all [branches of mathematics], that is, the theorems generated by the single science that embraces alike all forms of mathematical knowledge; ... such are the theorems governing proportion ... likewise the theorems governing ratios of all kinds ... and the theorems about equality and inequality in their most general and universal aspects' (transl. Morrow).

It seems, then, that Plato thought that the principles of mathematics were reducible to fewer and prior ones, and that all the sciences of *dianoia* shared their most basic theorems and concepts in common. We may suppose then, that for Plato the various branches of mathematics should be reduced to one science (σύνοψις ἐπιστημῶν), and that this cannot be achieved as long as their special principles (hypotheses) remain independent. It is probable that Plato further thought that the dialectical ascent could continue until one arrived at the unique first principle that is no longer a postulate: namely, the Good. Thus, everything knowable would be organized into a system, on the model of geometry.

We have distinguished two kinds of mathematical definitions: a) definitions of elementary geometric objects (points, lines etc.) that are never invoked in Euclid's proofs and are mathematically useless, and b) definitions of other mathematical objects (kinds of angles, figures etc.) which are derived from the former ones and are frequently invoked and play an essential role in proofs. I shall argue now that the second kind of definitions is an earlier stage of definitions that has a purely mathematical origin. The first kind of definitions represents a later stage and was formulated under the philosophical influence of Plato and the Academy.

Let us now test this conjecture. In *Euthyphro* 12d (an early dialogue), the even number (category two) is explained as that which is not scalene but isosceles, presumably according to the old 'pebble arithmetic' of the Pythagorean tradition. The definition of the 'even' in Euclid is different (book 7, def. 6: an even number is that which is divisible into two equal parts). This definition probably has its origin in Theaetetus.⁴⁷ Now, in the *Laws* (the latest Platonic dialogue, written years after the death of Theaetetus and when the above definition was the current one) at 985e, Plato defines an even number as 'a number divisible into two equal parts'. Hence, in this case, Plato simply follows the definitions of the mathematicians.⁴⁸

In *Meno* 76a, Plato gives a definition of 'figure' (category one) as 'the limit (πέρας) of a solid',⁴⁹ and in *Parmenides* 145a, we have an explanation

⁴⁷ See Knorr 1975: 244.

⁴⁸ In *Parmenides* 137e, there is a definition of the 'round' (or the circle) as 'that in which the furthest points in all directions are at the same distance from the middle point [centre]'. The 'sphere' is similarly defined as that which 'is equal (equidistant) from the centre in all directions' (*Timaeus* 33b, 34b). These definitions belong to category two, but the sphere has a special interest for Plato's cosmology, and the 'round' is the opposite of the 'straight'. Although these are the earliest known definitions of the circle and the sphere, we have no evidence to attribute them to Plato.

⁴⁹ From the previous discussion in the dialogue, it seems that this definition is Plato's own. It is proposed by Socrates as his example of a definition. Meno, a well educated young man, is unable to give a definition of 'figure'.

of the term 'limit' ('what contains is a limit'). According to Aristotle (*Metaph.* 992a20), Plato regarded the genus of points as a 'geometrical fiction', calling a point the beginning (or in other words one limit) of a line. Now, in Euclid, 'figure' is defined as 'that which is contained by any boundary (ὄρος) or boundaries' (def. 1.14), and 'boundary' is defined as 'that which is an extremity (or limit – πέρας) of anything' (def. 1.13). The similarities between the above definitions and Plato's definition of figure and his explanation of 'limit' are striking. But the similarity becomes almost identity, if we compare Plato's definition of 'figure' with Euclid's definitions 1.3 and 11.2: 'the extremities (or limits – πέρματα) of a line are points' and 'a limit (πέρας) of a solid is a surface'.

Consider the following definitions from Euclid:

- 1) A *point* is that which has no part (def. 1.1).
- 2) A *line* is breadthless length (def. 1.2).
- 3) The extremities (or limits – πέρματα) of a line are points (def. 1.3).
- 4) A *surface* is that which has length and breadth only (def. 1.5)
- 5) The extremities (or limits – πέρματα) of a surface are lines (def. 1.6).
- 6) A *solid* is that which has length, breadth and depth (def. 11.1).
- 7) An extremity (or limit – πέρας) of a solid is a surface (def. 11.2).

We see that the definitions of line, surface and solid are followed by statements (not really definitions) about their limits (def. 3, 5, 7). Definitions 3, 5, 7 were probably the older definitions of point, line and surface – as limits of line, surface and solid respectively. This is attested by Aristotle (*Metaph.* 1060b14–17, *Topics* 141b5–15, *Cat.* 5a2–6). These definitions can be traced back to Plato, as his definitions of 'point' and 'figure' show.⁵⁰ These definitions were attacked sharply by Aristotle (see the above passages) and probably by others. So they were replaced (in Euclid) by definitions 1, 2, 4. However, Euclid retained them as alternative definitions or as explanatory statements.

In *Parmenides* 137e, Plato gives a definition of a straight line (category one) as 'that of which the middle covers the ends' (εὐθύ γε οὗ ἂν τὸ μέσον τοῖν ἐσχάτοις ἐπίπροσθεν ᾗ). Aristotle quotes it in *Topics* 148b27 (οὗ τὸ μέσον ἐπιπρόσθαι τοῖς πέρασιν). Proclus (*in Euc.* 109) also quotes

⁵⁰ This is attested in *Topics* 141b5–15, where Aristotle says that everybody accepts the definitions of a point, line and surface as the limits of a line, surface and solid respectively. Since the centre of mathematical research at that time was the Academy, it is plausible that he is referring to the Platonic school. According to Heath (1949: 88–90), the Euclidean definition of a line as 'breadthless length' originated in the Platonic school (see *Topics* 143b11 ff., where Aristotle states this definition in connection with 'those who assume the existence of the Forms'). It is also probable that the definition of a solid as 'that which has length, breadth and depth' (*Elements* 11.1) originated in Plato (see *Republic* 528a8–b3).

this definition (ἥς τὰ μέσα τοῖς ἄκροις ἐπιπροσθεῖ), saying that it originated with Plato himself. Aristotle does not mention Plato's name, but gives the definition in combination with that of a line as the limit of a surface. The way in which Aristotle speaks about this definition shows that it was well known at that time.⁵¹ The definition of a straight line that Euclid gives in the *Elements* (I.4) is different. But, in the first proposition of his *Catoptrics* he defines a visual ray exactly as Plato defines a straight line (ὄψιν εἶναι εὐθεῖαν, ἥς τὰ μέσα πάντα τοῖς ἄκροις ἐπιπροσθεῖ). It is probable that Euclid thought that the Platonic definition of a straight line fit better with the visual ray, because it refers to sight, and he formulated another definition for a straight line.

What, then, of the philosophical origin of the definitions of a unit (Euc. 7.1) and of a point (Euc. I.1)? Plato gives a definition of a unit as that which has no parts (ἄμερὲς δήπου δεῖ παντελῶς τό γε ἀληθῶς ἐν κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, *Sophist* 245a8–9; cf. *R.* 526a, *Prm.* 137d). This is almost identical to Euclid's definition of a point (σημεῖόν ἐστιν οὗ μέρος οὐθέν). It is plausible to suppose that this Platonic definition of a unit was replaced later by the Euclidean one (7.1: 'a unit is that by virtue of which each of the things that exist is called one') when the definition of a point as a 'limit' (or beginning) of a line was challenged. So, the old definition of a unit became the definition of a point, and a new definition of a unit (Euc. 7.1) was given. But even this latter definition of a unit is formulated according to Platonic philosophy. Everything that is called 'one' is called so by virtue of the *unit* (that is, the Form of Unit). The above two definitions of a unit are not the only ones;⁵² but the common characteristic of all of them is that a unit is not divisible. The indivisibility of a unit, however, is a philosophical and not mathematical conception.⁵³

If we pass now to Euclid's common notions (axioms) we may find that they also have their origin in dialectic, and especially in Plato's philosophy. We find in Euclid nine common notions. The first eight (the ninth is probably spurious⁵⁴) are propositions about equality and inequality. We find the fourth common notion of Euclid in *Prm.* 154b. In *Euthd.* 293d4–5, and in *R.* 437a, we find two versions of the law of

⁵¹ Cf. Heath 1926, vol. 1: 166.

⁵² See Heath 1926, vol. 2: 279, for other definitions of a unit. Thymaridas defined a monad as 'limiting quantity'. According to Aristotle (*Metaph.* 1089b35), unit is 'the indivisible in [the category of] quantity'.

⁵³ Cf. Plato *Prm.* 137c–d, 149a.

⁵⁴ Proclus (*in Euc.* 239) refers to it as a principle not contained in the *Elements*.

non-contradiction. Plato, however, treats these propositions not as self-evident but as hypotheses or debatable cases. So, in *Chrm.* 168c, he arrives at the absurd statement that something is double and half of itself (cf. common notions 5, 6), and later (168e4–6) he says that this is impossible (not generally but) in magnitudes and numbers.

In *Tht.* 155a–b, Plato states three agreed statements (ὁμολογήματα) as a basis for the discussion:

- a) As long as something is equal to what it was, it does not come to be greater or smaller in size or number (than it was).
- b) If something has nothing added to it or subtracted from it, it is equal (to what it was).
- c) Nothing is what it previously was not, without having come to be.

Plato does not say that the truth of the above propositions is something evident, but labels them as ὁμολογήματα. All three are again propositions concerning equality and inequality. But what is most striking is the way in which Plato posits them without argument at the beginning of the discussion, exactly as Euclid does with his common notions (cf. also *R.* 437a). I find it, then, plausible to suppose that mathematical axioms have their origin in Platonic dialectic.⁵⁵

Although mathematics is inferior to philosophy, Plato, in the *Republic*, regards it as an essential preliminary to dialectic. Mathematics constitutes a good training in abstract thought⁵⁶ and a good means by which to elevate the soul to the world of the Forms (521d, 523a, 525c, 527b). In Plato's time, only geometry, and perhaps arithmetic, had been formed (even in an incomplete way) into an axiomatic deductive system. Geometry is the model of organization of the other sciences of *dianoia*. So Plato exhorts the astronomers to organize their science on the model of geometry (530b). Dialectic can better proceed on its upward path once the various sciences of *dianoia* have been clearly organized as proper sciences on the model of geometry. We may reasonably suppose that Plato in the *Republic* posited a programme of reducing mathematics into its most elementary principles. That is, to continue the axiomatization of mathematics, reducing its principles to the most elementary (and prior)

⁵⁵ Szabó (1978: 291–9) argues convincingly that Euclid's seventh common notion responds to Zeno's paradox that 'half of the time is equal to its double', and does not allow in geometry the absurdities originating from it.

⁵⁶ Cf. Archytas D.K. 47.Br: 'mathematicians seem to me to have excellent discernment and it is in no way strange that they should think correctly concerning the nature of particular things. For, since they have passed an excellent judgment on the nature of the whole, they were bound to have an excellent view of separate things' (transl. Freeman).

ones, in order to find the common principles of all the sciences (531d), gaining in this way a synoptic view of them. This project is the task of the mathematician–philosophers. Only after it has been completed can the philosopher proceed to the proper (or higher) dialectic and to arrive at the non-hypothetical first principle. We know that this programme was fulfilled (at least to a certain degree) in the Academy, and it is very probable – as we have tried to show – that Plato himself contributed to it, proposing definitions of the most basic objects of mathematics (category one) and showing, for the first time, the need for axioms.

C. No scholar or historian of mathematics believes that Plato made a contribution to matters of methodology in ancient mathematics. Rather the opposite is the case. It is Plato who applies mathematical methods in his philosophy. Indeed, in the *Meno* (86e4–5), Plato clearly says that the hypothetical method, which he applies in the dialogue, is borrowed from geometers. Nevertheless, there are two ancient testimonies that connect Plato with the geometrical method of analysis and synthesis. Diogenes Laertius (3.24) reports that Plato ‘was the first to explain to Leodamas of Thasos the method of solving problems by analysis’. Proclus (*in Euc.* 211.21–3), also, reports that ‘It is said that Plato taught this method to Leodamas, who also is reported to have made many discoveries in geometry by means of it.’ Finally, Philodemus⁵⁷ speaks for the birth of the method of analysis at the time of Plato, without, however, attributing it to him.⁵⁸

Scholars do not give credence to the above passages. Heath,⁵⁹ for example, says that these texts ‘have given rise to the idea that Plato *invented* the method of mathematical analysis, an idea which ... seems nevertheless to be based on a misapprehension’. Nevertheless, although I do not believe that Plato himself discovered the geometrical method of analysis and synthesis, I think that there is a way to keep (and not to disregard) the ancient evidence and acknowledge the credibility of the above passages. As I have shown elsewhere,⁶⁰ the method of geometers to which Plato refers in the *Meno* is the method of reduction (*apagōgē*) that Hippocrates of Chios systematically used for solving difficult problems (see Proclus, *in Euc.* 213). This method is the early stage of the method of analysis or the forerunner of it. Hippocrates worked in Athens during the

⁵⁷ However, the sources from which Philodemus draws his information must be considerably earlier. See note 24.

⁵⁸ See Dorandi 1991a: 127.

⁵⁹ Heath 1921, vol. 1: 213.

⁶⁰ Karasmanis 1987: 89–93 and Karasmanis 2012.

last thirty years of the fifth century BC and perhaps later. It is more than probable that Plato knew Hippocrates and his method. The *Meno* is an intermediate dialogue, between the early and middle period of Plato, probably written at the time of the opening of the Academy.⁶¹ Therefore, I find it very probable that Plato, knowing the method of Hippocrates of Chios, communicated it to Leodamas. Leodamas, in his turn, managed to improve and transform *apagōgē* into the more sophisticated method of analysis and synthesis and made many discoveries using this method, as Proclus says.

In his *History of the Academy*, Philodemus, referring to the study of mathematics, says also that at the time of Plato ‘research on definitions reached its peak’. Referring to the various methods in geometry, Proclus (*in Euc.* 211.23–212.1) speaks about the method of division (*diairesis*) ‘which divides into its natural parts the genus proposed for examination and which affords a starting point for demonstration ... This method also Plato praised as an aid in all the sciences.’ It is, therefore, very probable that the method of ‘collection and division’, that Plato proposed in the *Sophist* and the *Politicus* for finding definitions, found also application in mathematics. Finally, we may consider that although Plato himself did not develop methods specifically for mathematics, nevertheless, he had an indirect contribution in the area of methodology.

7.5 Plato as an ‘Architect’ of Mathematics

A. In the passage of Philodemus quoted above in Section 7.2, Part E, Plato is presented as an ‘architect’ or supervisor (ἀρχιτεκτονούντος) who proposed problems that the mathematicians investigated with zeal. In this way, says Philodemus, there was a great development in the theory of proportions, geometry, definitions etc. According to this evidence, Plato functioned in the Academy as a research director who proposed not only specific mathematical problems but also (and probably mainly) research projects in various areas of mathematics. The passage presents Plato only as an ‘architect’ of mathematics – not as a mathematician. Plato, being an ‘architect’ not only proposes problems or research projects but also supervises the work of the mathematicians. Philodemus seems to connect the great progress of mathematics in the Academy with Plato’s role as an

⁶¹ Most scholars believe that the *Meno* was written between 389 and 380. See Karasmanis 1987: 15, n. 9.

'architect' and supervisor. This passage fits well with what Eudemos says about Plato: 'He everywhere tries to arouse admiration for mathematics among students of philosophy' (Proclus, *in Euc.* 66.13–14).

There is, however, more evidence that Plato functioned as an 'architect' of science. Simplicius, in his commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo* (ed. Heiberg, 488.18–24; see also 492.29–493.5) says the following: 'And as Eudemos related in the second book of his *Astronomical History*, and Sosigenes also who herein drew upon Eudemos, Eudoxus of Cnidos was the first of the Greeks to concern himself with hypotheses of this sort, Plato having, as Sosigenes says, set it as a problem to all earnest students of this subject to find what are the uniform and ordered movements by assumption of which the phenomena in relation to the movements of the planets can be saved'.⁶² The first half of this passage is quite simple. According to Simplicius, Eudemos and Sosigenes⁶³ (who draws from Eudemos) say that Eudoxus was the first Greek who constructed a mathematical model of the heavens and the movements of the planets based on circles (see Simplicius, 488.16–18).

The second half of the passage is more problematic. Who is the source of Simplicius? There are two possibilities: a) Sosigenes drawing from Eudemos, and b) just Sosigenes. If the story about Plato comes from Eudemos' *History of Astronomy*, the evidence is more reliable, since Eudemos, being a student of Aristotle, is closer to Plato's time and, being a Peripatetic, does not have any reason to attribute to Plato events that did not actually occur. On the other hand, if this piece of evidence comes from Sosigenes himself, it is possible that the source of his statement is not as reliable as Eudemos. But even in this case, Sosigenes, who is a Peripatetic and not a Platonist, should be quite reliable when he refers to this story about Plato. Nonetheless, I am inclined to support the first option. In the above passage we are told that Sosigenes drew from the book of Eudemos and, immediately afterward, that Sosigenes told the story about Plato. Since Simplicius does not say that Sosigenes has drawn his information about Plato from someone else it is more plausible to suppose that Sosigenes continues to report from Eudemos. It is quite probable that Simplicius does not have the book of Eudemos in front of

⁶² Transl. Heath, 1932: 67.

⁶³ This Sosigenes is not the famous astronomer from Alexandria (first century BC) who was employed by Julius Caesar to devise the Julian calendar. He is the Peripatetic philosopher (second half of the second century AD) who was the tutor of Alexander of Aphrodisias (see Sharples 2010: 7, 51–6). He was also an astronomer and wrote a book *On Revolving Spheres* (Proclus, *Hyp.* 4.98).

him and that he draws information from this book through Sosigenes. Otherwise, why should he, after mentioning Eudemus, continue by saying that Sosigenes 'who drew upon Eudemus' says the same thing as Eudemus? The mention of Sosigenes would be superfluous.⁶⁴

According to Eudemus, Plato posited the following problem (πρόβλημα) to the mathematicians:⁶⁵ 'what are the uniform and ordered (ὁμαλῶν καὶ τεταγμένων) movements by assumption (ὑποτεθεισῶν) of which the phenomena in relation to the movements of the planets can be saved?'. Later on (493.2–3), when Simplicius repeats the same story, he speaks about 'uniform, cyclical and ordered movements' (ὁμαλῶν καὶ ἐγκυκλίων καὶ τεταγμένων). The problem is to construct a mathematical astronomical system that 'saves the apparent movements of the planets'. This problem has to be solved on the assumption (*hypothesis*) that the real movements should be 'uniform, cyclical and ordered'. Therefore, the mathematicians are assigned the task of constructing a system in which the apparent movement of each planet is to be explained by such uniform, cyclical and ordered movements. Sosigenes (on the basis of Eudemus, 493.4–5) says that Eudoxus was the first who managed to solve this problem.

Let us see what Plato did, according to this story. He proposed to the mathematicians a research programme, that is, to construct an astronomical model that saves the appearances. This programme was formulated as a problem (as in geometry).⁶⁶ The enunciation of any problem in

⁶⁴ For the same view, see Heath 1921, vol. 1: 329; Dicks 1970: 108; Duhem 1908: 3. Wehrli (1969: 69) considers this passage a genuine fragment of Eudemus. On the other hand, Zhmud (1998: 218, also citing Mittelstrass) argues that the evidence comes from Sosigenes and that it is not reliable. He thinks that Simplicius had in front of him both the books of Eudemus and of Sosigenes, arguing that, if the story had come from Eudemus, Simplicius would refer to him and not to Sosigenes. I do not think that Zhmud is right. Simplicius refers to Eudemus only three times and to Sosigenes eleven times. The first time he refers to Sosigenes, he says that Sosigenes draws from Eudemus. Since his commentary is on Aristotle's *De caelo*, in which the systems of Eudoxus and Callippus are the main ones to which Aristotle refers, I think that it is very strange that Simplicius should refer mainly to the book of Sosigenes and not to that of Eudemus, who was a student of Aristotle and wrote the first history of astronomy, if he had both books in front of him. In 492.29–493.7, Simplicius repeats the same story without referring to Sosigenes. He also says that Eudoxus managed to solve the problem proposed by Plato and that Callippus, a colleague of Eudoxus, came to Athens to study with Aristotle. This last piece of information must come from the book of Eudemus, who knew Eudoxus, Callippus and Aristotle very well. So, it is very probable that the story about Plato also comes from this book, but Simplicius, not having this book in front of him, draws this piece of information from Sosigenes, who draws it from Eudemus.

⁶⁵ 488.23: τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπουδακόσι; 493.2: τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς.

⁶⁶ In the *Republic* (530b6–7) Plato exhorts the mathematicians to work in astronomy with problems like those in geometry.

geometry contains two things: the given and the required. The required is the problem to be solved, and the given is the 'hypothesis' on the ground of which the problem will be solved on the basis of the observations of the phenomenal movements. In our case, the hypothesis is the 'uniform, cyclical and ordered movements'. This hypothesis says two things: that the motions of the planets are uniform and circular, and that the problem is a mathematical one that has to be solved in a mathematical way. Also, the hypothesis is a philosophical one – not mathematical. An astronomer could solve the same problem relying on other hypotheses. Mathematics alone cannot tell us if the hypothesis is true or false. It is the philosopher who is responsible for giving a reason for this hypothesis.⁶⁷ The hypothesis of the circular uniform motions in astronomy is central in Plato's *Timaeus*. The world is spherical because this figure is 'the most perfect and uniform of all' (33b). For similar reasons the fixed stars, the sun and the planets move in circles (34a, 36c–d, 38c–d).⁶⁸ This passage fits very well with what Philodemus says for Plato. Plato, without being an astronomer, proposes problems (or research programmes) for the mathematicians. Together with that, he provides the main theoretical assumptions for the solution of the problem. Plato is functioning as an architect or supervisor and the mathematicians try to solve the problem.

I am coming now to another story, regarding the problem of the duplication of the cube that presents Plato as an 'architect'. Theon of Smyrna⁶⁹ mentions that Eratosthenes in his book *Platonicus* says that 'when the god proclaimed to the Delians by the oracle that, if they would get rid of a plague, they should construct an altar double of the existing one, their craftsmen fell into great perplexity ... They therefore went to Plato about it, and he replied that the oracle meant, not that the God wanted an altar of double the size, but that he wished ... to shame the Greeks for their neglect of mathematics and their contempt for geometry.' Plutarch reports the same story twice,⁷⁰ saying that Plato

⁶⁷ I disagree with Duhem (1908: 3–11), who thinks that Plato and the mathematicians do not care about the truth of the hypotheses. On such a view, the only thing they want is to make a mathematical model that saves the appearances. Lloyd (1978: 202–2) has convincingly objected to Duhem that ancient mathematicians were not instrumentalists and mathematical studies do not exclude physical and realist investigations. Plato is always ready to give a reason for his hypotheses, but on philosophical and not mathematical grounds.

⁶⁸ For Plato, as in geometry, there are only two main kinds of lines, the straight and the circular (*Parmenides* 137e, *Meno* 74e–75a).

⁶⁹ *Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium*, ed. Hiller 1878: 2.3–12.

⁷⁰ *De genio Socratis* 579b–d; *De E apud Delphos* 386e.

said that the God not only reproached the Greeks but also urged them to study geometry and adds (in his first report) that Plato also told the Delians that Eudoxus of Cnidus and Elicon of Cyzicus could succeed in solving this problem. We find a fourth version of this story in the commentary of Eutocius on the work of Archimedes *On the Sphere and Cylinder*⁷¹ contained in an alleged letter of Eratosthenes to King Ptolemy. The letter contains a short history of the problem of the duplication of the cube, which is supposed to have started in the time of king Minos. According to the author, Hippocrates of Chios was the first who managed to reduce this problem to that of finding two mean proportionals between one segment and its double. Later on, the Delians, because of the oracle, sent emissaries to Plato's Academy and asked the geometers to solve the problem. Archytas, Eudoxus and Menaechmus⁷² managed to solve the problem in various ways. We cannot know how much credit we may give to this story. It seems that the original source of the story is the book of Eratosthenes (third century BC) mentioned by Theon. Eratosthenes was a very good mathematician who had studied in Athens and became the head of the library in Alexandria.⁷³ Hence, he is a rather reliable source. In any case, this story shows the high opinion that Plato had of mathematics, and that the Academy of that time was a centre of mathematical research. Related to this story is another one, again related by Plutarch,⁷⁴ that Plato blamed Eudoxus, Archytas and Menaechmus for using instruments and mechanical constructions in their efforts to double the cube. Let us look at the story more closely. The Delians, wanting to construct a double cubic altar, approached not some well-known mathematicians, but Plato. Certainly, they did not approach Plato as a philosopher or mathematician, but in his capacity as the head of the Academy, which was a recognized institute of mathematical research. Plato, in his turn, proposed to some mathematicians to solve the problem. Again, here we see Plato functioning as a director of a research institute, proposing problems to the mathematicians. Also, the mathematicians were ready to follow Plato's orders, and some of them (Archytas, Eudoxus, Menaechmus) managed to give solutions to the problem. However,

⁷¹ Archimedes, ed. Heiberg and Stamatis 1969–77, vol. 3: 88–90.

⁷² Eutocius quotes the solutions given by Archytas, Eudoxus and Menaechmus. See also Heath: 1921, vol. 1: 245–55.

⁷³ See Heath 1921, vol. 1: 104.

⁷⁴ *Quaestiones conviviales* 8.2.1.

these solutions were not purely mathematical, and Plato condemned the mathematicians for using mechanical constructions. This last part of the story shows that Plato not only proposed the problem to be solved but also functioned as a supervisor checking whether the mathematicians did their work in the right way. This means that the problem had to be solved on the basis of the right hypotheses (e.g. using only straight lines and circles). The problem is geometrical and its solution cannot rely on mechanical hypotheses and methods. Therefore, these solutions had to be rejected.⁷⁵

B. Relying only on external evidence it is probably quite difficult to accept without reservations the image of Plato as an 'architect' of science. However, if we find evidence from the Platonic dialogues that support this image, then I think that we have good reasons to believe this tradition regarding Plato. Almost all evidence to support this image comes from the seventh book of the *Republic*, where Plato speaks about the education of the rulers of his ideal city in the various branches of mathematics. I shall start my examination from the passage that refers to solid geometry (stereometry), which is, according to my opinion, the most relevant. In 528a6–7, Plato (in the mouth of Socrates) says that they have wrongly posited astronomy after geometry. Let us examine the relevant passage (528a9–c8):

After plane surfaces we went on to revolving solids before dealing with solids by themselves. But the right thing to do is to take up the third dimension right after the second. And this, I suppose, consists of cubes and of whatever shares in depth. – You are right, Socrates, but this subject hasn't been developed yet (οὐπω ἡρῆσθαι). – There are two reasons for that: First, because no city values it, it is little researched, being difficult. Second, the researchers (ζητοῦντες) need a director (ἐπιστάτου), for, without one, they won't discover anything. To begin with, such a director is hard to find, and, then, even if he could be found, under the current situation, those who do research [in this field] would be too arrogant (ζητητικοὶ μεγαλοφρονούμενοι) to follow him. If an entire city helped him to supervise it (συνεπιστάτοϊ), however, and took the lead in valuing it, then he would be followed. And, if the subject was consistently and vigorously pursued, it would soon be developed. Even now, when it isn't valued and is held in contempt by the majority and is pursued by researchers who are

⁷⁵ In Section 7.4, Part C above, interpreting the story that Plato taught Leodamas the method of analysis and synthesis, we said that it is quite probable that Plato, knowing the method of Hippocrates (*apagōgē*), communicated it to Leodamas who, in his turn, improved it into the more sophisticated method of analysis and synthesis. If this is so, then we see again Plato acting as an 'architect' of science. See also Adam 1902, vol. 1: 122 n. 10.

unable to give an account of its usefulness, nevertheless, in spite of all these handicaps, the force of its charm has caused it to develop somewhat, so that it wouldn't be surprising if it were further developed even as things stand.⁷⁶

Here Socrates says that after plane geometry comes stereometry (i.e. geometry in three dimensions), and not astronomy, which examines revolving solids. Glaucon agrees, but adds that such a science is not yet developed. Plato, using the word ὑρῶσθαι, does not mean that stereometry was not yet invented, but rather that it was not recognized and organized as a separate mathematical science. Perhaps it consisted in a few rather miscellaneous problems and theorems, more or less independent from each other and not organized as a system based on principles. Indeed, Socrates says in the above passage (c1–5), that ‘even now⁷⁷ ... the force of its [that is, stereometry’s] charm has caused it to develop somewhat’.⁷⁸ We know also that at least Democritus, Hippocrates of Chios and Archytas had already worked on problems of solid geometry.⁷⁹ Socrates finds two reasons for the fact that solid geometry is not yet developed. The first reason is that the cities do not value it⁸⁰ or promote it, and also that this subject is most difficult. The second reason is more interesting for our purpose. The researchers need a director (ἐπιστάτου), and without him they cannot find anything. It is obvious that Plato, here, speaks for the ordinary Greek cities of his time and not for his ideal city. The ideal city is organized in such a way as to seriously promote mathematical studies. Also, in this city there is no need for a specific ‘director’, because all the philosopher rulers are able to play this role. Plato says that such a director is difficult (χάλεπὸν) to find. But, in case such a director could be found, Plato distinguishes two cases: first, under

⁷⁶ Translation adapted from G. M. A. Grube revised by C. D. C. Reeve, in Cooper 1997.

⁷⁷ It is difficult to decide whether, in saying ‘now’, Plato refers to the dramatic setting of the dialogue (c.400 BC) or to the time when he was writing the *Republic* (c.375 BC). Regardless, it is quite probable that the development of stereometry that happened within the Academy took place later. In the *Timaeus*, where Plato speaks extensively about the five regular solids, he says nothing about the undeveloped character of stereometry.

⁷⁸ In 510e1–2, Plato says that the diagrams that mathematicians ‘mold and draw’ are like shadows or images in water. Plato refers here to two-dimensional diagrams and to three-dimensional models, that is, to solid geometry.

⁷⁹ Archimedes (in the introduction to the *Method*) says that Democritus was the first to find that the volume of a cone or a pyramid is one third of the volume of the cylinder or the prism with the same base and the same height. Since he was familiar with the properties of cones, pyramids, cylinders and prisms, it is certain that he also knew the properties of cubes and parallelepipeds. As we have already seen, Hippocrates and Archytas worked on the problem of doubling the cube. See also Adam 1902, vol. 2: 122 n. 10.

⁸⁰ In *Laws* 520b, Plato reproaches the Greeks for their ignorance of incommensurability. Also, as we saw earlier in this section, according to Plutarch, Plato replied to the Delians that the God wanted ‘to shame the Greeks for their neglect of mathematics and their contempt for geometry’.

the current situation, in which cities do not value mathematics, the researchers in this topic are too arrogant (ζητητικοὶ μεγαλοφρονούμενοι) to be convinced by him and follow his instructions. In the Greek cities of Plato's period, mathematicians, and especially the good ones, were successful and hence independent researchers and teachers, who followed their own interests. Such people do not have any reason to follow the instructions of someone else.⁸¹ So, in this first case it is impossible to have serious development of the subject. The second possibility is that a city is willing to promote this subject with deference (ἐντίμως) and co-supervise it (συνεπιστάτοϊ). In that case, the researchers would follow the director (οὗτοί τε ἂν πείθοντο) and the subject would be developed. But why does Plato think that the director is necessary even when the city supports these studies? The most probable answer seems to be that without an expert director or manager, it is very probable that achievements in this subject will be obtained at random: there will be no systematic progress in it, in the right way. So the city has to find this expert who will supervise the whole project, in the same way in which the city finds a good architect to be the director of a big construction project.

Let us see now what should be the characteristics of such a director. Plato mentions two things: firstly, he insists that the researchers must be convinced by the director to follow him (see πείθονται, 528c1, 3). Secondly, saying that the researchers 'are unable to give an account (λόγον οὐκ ἔχοντων) of its usefulness' (528c5–6), he implies that it is only the director who is able to give such an account. Therefore, the director must be a person who has a global knowledge of the subject, without necessarily being an expert researcher himself. He must be capable of giving an account of the usefulness of the subject in order to convince the city to support it. Such an account is beyond mathematics. It relates to what is good or bad for the citizens and the city as a whole. Only a philosopher is able to give such an account.⁸² Moreover, the director must

⁸¹ The Academy was the first institution in which experts came together and worked in common under the direction of the head of this school.

⁸² Every art has its own subject matter. Every scientist or craftsman is more or less expert within the framework of his art. But these crafts and sciences are value-neutral. A specialist artist is the most capable of doing either the good or the bad and of either speaking the truth or lying in matters relating to his art (*Hippias Minor* 366a–368a). Thus, a doctor is expert in curing a patient but also in killing him (*R.* 332d–e). Arts involve skills that can produce opposite results. Therefore, for Plato, there is another and more significant knowledge: the knowledge of how to deal with and use all these arts correctly. This knowledge, or better wisdom, is a kind of moral and political knowledge. This is the knowledge of the royal art of the *Euthydemus* (290b, 292a–c) – where Plato says that the mathematicians do not know how to use their discoveries and must hand over the task of using them to the dialecticians (298c) – and also the one that the dialectician of the *Republic* possesses (see also Reeve 1988: 83).

be a good manager and supervisor: that is, he must be able to direct the research project effectively, having an overall responsibility for it, assigning the right job to the appropriate person, and following the progress of the project. Also, in order to be able to convince the mathematicians to follow him, the director must have the appropriate status and ethical and political qualities. Who is the director that Plato probably has in mind? We know that stereometry was greatly developed in the Academy due to the work of Theaetetus, who managed to construct the five regular solids.⁸³ Is it possible that the director to whom Plato refers is Theaetetus? The answer is rather negative. Theaetetus was a good geometer, and had philosophical interests, but was not a proper philosopher, able to give an account of the usefulness of his science, nor did he have the appropriate status and capacities that would make him able to convince the other mathematicians. Looking at the qualities that the director must have, I get the impression that Plato is describing himself in this passage.⁸⁴ The director is, therefore, someone like him, and it is reasonable to suppose that, in his capacity as the head of the Academy, Plato functioned as the director described in the *Republic*.

After solid geometry, Plato refers to two other sciences, astronomy (528e–530d) and harmonics (530d–531c). He criticizes the practitioners of these two sciences and proposes the right way in which astronomy and harmonics should be practised. Plato calls them ‘sister sciences’ (530d8) since they are both concerned with kinds of motion, the one being the counterpart of the other (530d4): ‘It’s likely that, as the eyes fasten on astronomical motions the ears fasten on harmonic ones’ (530d6–7). It seems that Plato objects to two kinds of astronomers: a) the pure empiricists who observe only constellations and rising and setting of stars without trying to find mathematical relations (529a9–c3); b) those who try to find geometrical figures and mathematical relations, but within the observed phenomena (530a7–b4).⁸⁵ Similarly, Plato objects to two kinds

⁸³ See Suidas, s.v. Θεαιτήτος, and scholium 1 to Euclid’s *Elements* 13 (ed. Heiberg and Stamatis 1969–77, vol. 5: 654).

⁸⁴ Adam (1902, vol. 2: 124, n. 15) believes that Plato has Eudoxus in mind. Certainly, Eudoxus, while he was a mathematician, was also a good philosopher and had his own students, but he did not work in stereometry apart from his solution of the Delian problem. Moreover, I find it rather difficult to imagine Eudoxus supervising Theaetetus, who was his senior.

⁸⁵ Plato does not speak clearly about two groups of astronomers, but his description of the astronomy of his time points to that. In the first passage, astronomers are presented as looking up at the ornaments (or embroideries – ποικίλματα) in the heavens. I agree with Bulmer-Thomas (1984: 108–9) that the ποικίλματα are the various fanciful constellations, like the Pleiades, the Bear, Orion etc., into which ancient people used to group the stars. In the second passage, Plato refers to astronomers who try to find mathematical relations in the observed motions of the stars.

of harmonicists. Here, he clearly distinguishes between a) the strict empiricist ones, who restrict themselves to aural sounds only, trying to measure and establish aural intervals (530e5–531b1), and b) those who find arithmetical proportions within the aural sounds (531c1–4).⁸⁶

Plato criticizes astronomers because they deal with the observed phenomena in the heavens and not the real ones.⁸⁷ He says that we cannot expect to find the truth in these: 'Don't you agree that he [the real astronomer] would think it absurd to expect such objects, corporeal and visible as they are, to be forever invariant and to be absolutely undeviating, and to strive to determine their truth by every possible means?' (530b1–4).⁸⁸ After that, Plato goes on to tell how the real astronomer should pursue his science: 'It is by means of problems, then, I said, that we shall proceed in astronomy, in the same way as we do in geometry, and we shall let the things in the heavens alone (τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔξομεν) if, by doing real astronomy, we are to turn from disuse to use that part of our soul whose nature is to be wise' (530b6–c1). We see that, according to Plato, astronomers have to work and organize their science on the model of geometry. This involves two things: first, that they must pursue astronomy using problems, and second, that the objects of their science should not be sensible things but eternal realities (see also 529d1–5). The use of problems⁸⁹ means that astronomers must organize their science deductively, so that every proposition is proved by others prior to it. Also, we have to suppose that Plato thinks that astronomy – like geometry – has to start from some hypotheses that remain unexamined, the dialectician's task being to examine them. Also, astronomers should 'let the things in the heavens alone' and deal with eternal realities. This does not mean that the real astronomer creates mathematical models without paying any attention to the observed phenomena. Geometers are *obliged* to use sensible diagrams, but their proofs regard not these but the eternal

⁸⁶ For these two kinds of harmonicists, see Mourelatos 1980: 48–52.

⁸⁷ Similarly, he criticizes the harmonicists who 'measure audible concords against one another – unprofitable labor, like that of the astronomers' (531a1–3).

⁸⁸ The translation of the passages regarding astronomy is taken from Vlastos 1980. In 529c7–d5, Plato distinguishes between the visible ornaments in the heavens and the real things: 'those motions which the real speed and the real slowness in [their] true number and in all [their] true figures move relatively to each other and carry along whatever is in them; these things are for reason and understanding, not for sight, to discern'.

⁸⁹ I disagree with Mourelatos (1980: 60–2) that the word 'problem' has here the technical meaning of a construction-proof. It is absurd to suppose that astronomers are obliged to use only construction-proofs (problems) and not proofs of properties (theorems). In this early stage of geometry, the terminological distinction between theorems and problems was not yet fixed. Plato uses this word to refer to all geometrical proofs.

realities (Forms – 510d). In the same way, the diagram for the astronomers is the phenomena we observe in the heavens, and they are obliged to start from that diagram, thinking, however, about the real things. Similarly, in harmonics, the harmonicists have to work with problems (531c2), and the sounds they hear are similar to the diagrams of the geometers. Plato's conception about the 'real' astronomy created many problems and prompted many interpretations.⁹⁰ However, it is not my purpose here to examine this problem but to see, with evidence from these passages, whether Plato functions as an 'architect' of science or not. At 530c4–6, finishing his treatment of astronomy, Plato has Socrates say 'I suppose that, if we are to be of any benefit as lawgivers, our prescriptions for the other subjects will be of the same kind.' Are these lawgivers the same as the 'director' we have seen in the case of solid geometry? Certainly not. Here, the lawgivers are Socrates and his interlocutors, who expose the rules and the laws of the ideal city (ἡμῶν ὡς νομοθετῶν),⁹¹ and they speak exclusively about the ideal city. Moreover the 'benefit' that the future rulers of the ideal city will gain from the study of mathematics that the 'lawgivers' legislate consists in the power of mathematics to draw the soul from the sensible to the intelligible things (see 525d–526a, 527b5–c8).⁹² However, although Plato speaks about the ideal city, which is very different from the Academy⁹³ and his contemporary Athens, it is very plausible that he also indirectly refers to the

⁹⁰ We can distinguish two main groups of interpreters regarding Plato's conception of the 'real' astronomy (and similarly of the 'real' harmonics). Following Mourelatos' terminology (1980: 35), the interpreters of the first group propound an 'a priori astronomy' view, and those of the second view propound a 'save the phenomena' view. According to the first view, Plato is banning sense perception from astronomy and wants to replace observation by speculation (see e.g. Adam 1902, vol. 2: 131 n.; Heath 1913: 139; Neugebauer 1952: 152; Mourelatos 1980; Mueller 1980). According to the second view, Plato criticizes a sterile empiricism and exhorts astronomers to know the real motions of the heavenly bodies (that follow mathematical relations) as opposed to their apparent ones as seen from the earth (see e.g. Shorey 1935: 180–9; Dicks 1970: 103–6; Bulmer-Thomas 1984). The main problem with the first interpretation is that it makes the observation of the stars more or less unnecessary, although Plato thinks that a diagram is a necessary feature of geometry. After all, what kind of astronomy is astronomy without stars? The main problem of the second interpretation is that astronomy is a science dealing with the stars in the heavens (that is, sensible things) and not with ideal entities. The second interpretation fits well with the testimony from Simplicius that Plato posited to the astronomers of his time the problem 'to find what are the uniform and ordered movements by assumption of which the phenomena in relation to the movements of the planets can be saved', while the first one does not. Vlastos (1980) proposes an intermediate interpretation that tries to avoid these two problems and to fit with the testimony about 'saving the appearances'. I find Vlastos' interpretation very suggestive and more plausible.

⁹¹ See also 398b3, 403b4, 409e5, 417b8, 425b–e, 456b12, 463c9, 497d1, 525b11, 534d–e.

⁹² For this topic see Burnyeat 2000.

⁹³ The students in the Academy do not have to study ten years of mathematics before engaging with philosophy.

mathematicians of the Academy, prompting them to work in astronomy and harmonics in the same way as in geometry and arithmetic, and giving them the right instructions for this reform. It is strange to think that Plato did absolutely nothing to promote in the Academy his ideas about mathematics that we see in the *Republic*, although it is unlikely that the curriculum of the *Republic* was applied in the Academy. How much his ideas influenced the practice of the actual mathematicians, is another question. Nevertheless, the ancient tradition supports the role of Plato as a director who influenced the development of mathematical studies.

In another passage (527a6–b1) Plato says that geometers talk in a 'ludicrous and unavoidable way' (μᾶλα γελοίως τε καὶ ἀναγκαίως), because they use the language of action (πράξεως), which is misleading with respect to the intelligible objects for the sake of which they pursue geometry. Thus, they use words like 'squaring', 'applying' or 'adding' although their subject is pursued not for the sake of action but 'for the sake of knowledge' (527b1). However, although Plato criticizes the language of the mathematicians, he does not urge them to change their terminology. They are obliged to speak in this way.⁹⁴ Why does this happen? Probably because they are obliged to use sensible diagrams. A geometer 'draws' his diagram and 'extends' lines, 'squares' areas, 'adds' segments etc. The work he does on the diagram forces him to speak in this way. Nevertheless, although he talks of action in this way, he thinks about the intelligible objects (510d5–e3). We saw that this is one of the two main defects of mathematics in comparison to dialectic. Therefore, we have to suppose that only the dialectician is able to speak about intelligible objects in a language that does not refer to action. In this way, Plato's criticism of the language of the mathematicians is a criticism from the point of view of the dialectician. Hence, we probably cannot accept that in this passage Plato acts as a 'director' who prompts mathematicians to change or reform their terminology.

* * *

In conclusion, I think that we have good reasons to believe the ancient tradition that presents Plato as playing a significant role in the development of the mathematics of his time. Although he was not an active mathematician who proved theorems or solved problems, he functioned as a foundationalist and a theorist of mathematics. He contributed to the axiomatization of mathematics based on definitions and axioms.

⁹⁴ See also Burnyeat 2000: 40.

Furthermore, he did play the role of general mathematical director (or architect), posing problems to the mathematicians of his time⁹⁵ and giving directions for the development of the field. He attracted to his Academy the best mathematicians of his time, being for them a source of inspiration. Under his leadership, the Academy became a centre of mathematical research in which many discoveries were made, mathematics was eventually transformed into an axiomatic system, and new branches were developed.

⁹⁵ Ian Mueller in a more recent paper (1991: 175) accepts that Plato did play a role as director of mathematics and inspired his contemporary mathematicians.

Euclid of Alexandria: A Child of the Academy?

*Michalis Sialaros**

8.1 Preface

According to tradition, the Academy was founded by Plato at the beginning of the fourth century BCE and remained uninterruptedly active until the first quarter of the first century BCE. During the early phase of this period, a number of important mathematicians – Archytas, Theaetetus and Eudoxus, to name just a few – appear to have had an association with the institute. As we lack solid evidence that any official mathematical training ever took place in the Academy, the exact nature of this ‘association’ remains unclear. At any rate, there seems to be a consensus that the Academy was – *inter alia* – a place of interaction among intellectuals, some of whom had a strong interest in mathematics.¹ Within this framework, a key matter remains unsettled: namely, the *terminus ad quem* of the Academy’s direct influence on the development of mathematics as a distinct discipline. This paper attempts to shed some light on this topic by examining the testimonies which associate Euclid of Alexandria with the institution.

8.2 Euclid, the Philosopher

Unfortunately, little is known of Euclid’s life. His time of action (c.330–270 BCE) can be roughly estimated from a series of speculations, most of which are based on a famous account by Proclus.² As regards his place of

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¹ On this, see Karasmanis’ chapter in this volume.

² Proclus, in *Eucl.* 68.10–17. For a similar account, see Heron, *Df.* 136.1.13–16; notice, however, that the authorship of the *Definitions* was questioned by Knorr 1993: 180–8. For Euclid’s dating, see Vitrac 1990–2001, vol. 1: 13–18 and Thomas 1970–80: 414–37. For an alternative dating, see Acerbi 2007: 200; Bowen & Goldstein 1991: 246; Schneider 1979: 104.

action, this is inferred mainly from Pappus, who records that Apollonius spent much time studying with the pupils of Euclid in Alexandria.³ Although the much later Islamic tradition is richer (for example, Al-Qifti appears to know details such as the names of Euclid's father and grandfather),⁴ these testimonies are seen as a result of misunderstanding and romanticism; thus, historians approach them with scepticism.⁵

Euclid wrote several treatises, most of which are extant.⁶ The size and ordering of this material indicates that this is not only one man's work, but a collection of previously established knowledge. Thus, modern historians, following Euclid's late ancient commentators, usually characterise his works as introductory and collective.⁷ In terms of their content, Euclid's treatises do not belong to the category of what is usually considered as Greek philosophical works; nevertheless, the view that Euclid was influenced by philosophical ideas is at least as old as some of his late ancient commentators: for instance, Al-Qifti writes: 'Euclid ... called the author of geometry, a philosopher of somewhat ancient date', al-Nadim names Euclid as 'one of the mathematical philosophers', and Proclus is more specific: '[Euclid] was a follower of Plato by choice, and familiar with this philosophy.'⁸

³ Pappus, *Coll.* 7.678.10–12; cf. Apollonius, *Con.* pref. Toomer questions the validity of Pappus' account and Jones argues that the story probably derives from misconstruing Apollonius' statements; Toomer 1990, vol. 1: xii; Jones 1986, vol. 1: 120, vol. 2: 402–3; also see Netz 2002: 203–4.

⁴ See Casiri 1760–1770, vol. 1: 339; cf. al-Nadim, *Fihrist* 7.2 (Dodge's 1970 translation); Heath 1908, vol. 1: 4.

⁵ See Vitrac & Djebbar 2011: 77–83; Vitrac 1990, vol. 1: 15.

⁶ The long catalogue of the treatises attributed to him comprises the *Elements* of Geometry, the *Elements* of Music, the *Data*, the *Pseudaria*, the *Porisms*, the *Conics*, the *Phaenomena*, the *Optics*, the book *On Divisions*, the *Surface-Loci*, the *Book of the Balance* and the *Book on the Heavy and Light*. The last two works are extant only in Arabic. Knorr and Sarton question the authorship of these texts, based on the assumption that they are too advanced to have been written prior to Archimedes; Knorr 1986: 151; Sarton 1927, vol. 1: 156. Claggett and Moody propose that this argument is scarcely conclusive; Claggett & Moody 1952: 23–5.

⁷ See Netz 2010: 436; Acerbi 2007: 188; Lloyd & Sivin 2002: 143–4; Fowler 2000: 33; Artmann 1991: 1–2; Vitrac 1990, vol. 1: 100–7; Knorr 1986: 137–8; 1975: 303–6. Marinus (*in Dt.* 254.16–20) writes: 'For he [Euclid] set *Elements*, as introductions, before almost every mathematical science; for example, for the whole of geometry in his thirteen books; and of astronomy in the *Phaenomena*; and also, similarly, he handed down <*Elements*> of *Music* and of *Optics*'; Proclus (*in Euc.* 68.7–10) is more specific: '[Euclid] brought together the *Elements*, collected many of Eudoxus' [propositions], perfected many of Theaetetus', and also brought to irrefutable demonstrations those that had been rather loosely proved by his predecessors; and Pappus (*Coll.* 7.676.25–678.15), describing the way in which Euclid treated older material, claims that he sought to change as little as possible; for Marinus, my translation; for Proclus, here and henceforth, I follow Morrow's translation with alterations.

⁸ Proclus: *in Euc.* 68.20–1; for the other references, cf. n. 4. The philosophical doctrines of Euclid of Megara that were wrongly attributed to Euclid of Alexandria are not discussed here. For an updated discussion on this, see Goulding 2010: 117–42.

As mentioned earlier, the information about Euclid's life provided by the Arab authors is approached with scepticism; moreover, Proclus, a Neoplatonic philosopher and director of the Academy, is considered to be a biased author when ascribing Platonic beliefs to famous people of the past and, thus, should not be readily taken at face value.⁹ However, as concerns our interests, this case is different. Proclus not only expresses his view, but he also exposes the reason for his belief – namely, he argues that Euclid was a follower of Plato, on the basis of what he *himself* regarded as the mathematical purpose of the *Elements*, i.e., 'the construction of the so-called Platonic figures'.¹⁰ Therefore, one does not necessarily need to examine Proclus' idea per se, but rather place emphasis on its justification. In what follows, this is precisely what I propose to do by shifting my focus from the external evidence to the *Elements* itself.

Even a brief examination of book 13 of the *Elements* reveals that Proclus' observation seems right: the last book is, indeed, devoted to the examination of the five regular polyhedra; namely, the cube, the tetrahedron, the octahedron, the icosahedron and the dodecahedron. Moreover, in the very last proposition of the book, Euclid argues that there are no other regular solids. In this way, 13.18 serves as an epilogue for the *Elements* and explains why the investigation must stop there: there are no other regular solids.

What is crucial for our discussion here is that the regular polyhedra are the same figures that Plato mentions in the *Timaeus* (53c–55c). In this dialogue, Plato assigns each one of the solids to each one of the four elements (the cube to earth, the tetrahedron to fire, the octahedron to air, and the icosahedron to water) and describes that they are constructed out of two kinds of triangle, the right-angled isosceles and the half-equilateral.¹¹ There is no doubt that Proclus was well aware of this model, for several reasons: first, he was the director of the Academy and, thus, he must have known Plato's work very well; second, he prepared an extended commentary on the *Timaeus*, which is extant;¹² third, in his commentary on the *Elements*, he often refers to passages in the *Timaeus*, in a way that reveals scholarly research.¹³ Therefore, he had all the

⁹ Cf. Burkert 1972. Also see Netz 2004: 244; Cuomo 2001: 260; Knorr 1990: 208; Heath 1908, vol. 1: 32–45.

¹⁰ Proclus, in *Eucl.* 68.21–3; 70.19–71.2; 82.25–83.2.

¹¹ The dodecahedron is reserved for the shape of the entire universe (or for aether, according to some interpretations); cf. Cornford 1935: 210–18; Taylor 1928: 358–78. For the mathematics of the *Timaeus*, see Vitrac 2006.

¹² For the latest edition, see Tarrant et al. 2007.

¹³ For example, see Proclus, in *Eucl.* 16.16–18.5 (cf. *Ti.* 35a–36c), 20.8–23.11, 34.4–37.10, 148.1–4.

material in his mind to form the following connection: Euclid was trying to provide the mathematical foundation of the five regular polyhedra, which, in their turn, provided the foundation of the cosmos itself. It is worth quoting his thought (*in Euc.* 70.24–71.2):

The whole of the geometer's discourse is obviously concerned with the cosmic figures. It starts from the simple figures and ends with the complexities involved in the structure of the cosmic bodies, establishing each of the figures separately but showing for all of them how they are inscribed to the sphere and the ratios that they have with respect to one another.¹⁴

Manifestly, Proclus' idea fits into the role usually ascribed to Plato, as the director and coordinator of research activity in the Academy – a tradition that goes back to the well-known story of the Delian problem.¹⁵ In sum, the tale goes that the people of Delos, tormented by a plague that Apollo had sent upon them, asked Plato to solve the problem of doubling a cubic altar. According to the Delphic oracle, the plague would leave the island if the Delians solved the problem. For this purpose, Plato commissioned the famous 'Academic mathematicians' Archytas, Eudoxus and Menaechmus. In another instance, Plato seems to have set to his earnest students the problem of finding 'what uniform and ordered movement must be assumed to account for the apparent movements of the planets'.¹⁶ According to tradition, Eudoxus was the first to explain a planet's wandering based on a number of homocentric spheres.¹⁷

As coherent as Proclus' picture of Euclid working in a Platonic programme may sound, the truth is that, if we exclude an indication in the *Republic* (526d–527c) where Plato notices that solid geometry 'has not been investigated' enough, we have no hint whatsoever that he ever requested such a project.¹⁸ Thus, two questions emerge: is the mere fact

¹⁴ Notice that Proclus' interpretation scheme embraces all the books of the *Elements*; for example, he claims (*in Euc.* 82.13–83.6) that the mathematical aim of the first book was to study 'the most fundamental rectilinear figures, the triangle and the parallelogram', because these are the causal principles of the 'isosceles and scalene triangles and their compounds, the equilateral triangle and the square, from which the figures of the four elements are constructed'.

¹⁵ Cf. Plutarch, *De E* 386e; *De gen.* 579b–c; *Quaest. conv.* 718e–f; *Marc.* 14.9–11; Theon, *Math.* 2.3–12; Eutocius, *in Sph. Cyl.* 88.3–96.9; Philoponus, *in Ap.* 13.3.102.12–22.

¹⁶ Simplicius, *in Cael.* 7.488.19–24, 7.496.29–497.5. See Dicks 1970: 108; Heath 1932: xlv.

¹⁷ Cf. Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1073b; Plato, *R.* 530b6–8. For a discussion on whether Eudoxus' spheres had any physical substance, see Lloyd 1978; Heath 1932: xlv–l. Also see Burnyeat 2000: 56–63; Fowler 2000: 33; Mendell 2000.

¹⁸ When Plato speaks of mathematics, he usually refers to arithmetic and geometry. Sometimes, he stresses solid geometry as a separate discipline and adds astronomy and the theory of musical harmony; see Plato, *R.* 522d–531c; *Lg.* 819a–822c; *Epin.* 990a–991b; *Grg.* 450c–451c; *Phdr.* 274c–d; *Phlb.* 55c–57e. For the relationship between the *Republic* and the *Timaeus* in terms of

that the *Elements* concludes with the study of the regular solids enough to justify Proclus' view that this was the only reason for writing the *Elements* in the first place? And is this enough to establish a connection between the *Elements* and the Platonic cosmology, as described in the *Timaeus*? I will try to show that the answer to both questions is negative.

Table 8.1 presents the allocation of first principles – definitions, postulates and common notions – in the thirteen books of the *Elements*.¹⁹ It is apparent here that the first principles are not homogeneously spread among the various books of the *Elements*: only book 1 contains definitions, postulates and common notions all together, whereas four books (8, 9, 12, 13) contain no first principles at all; moreover, book 10 includes definitions scattered across three different parts of the text. This incongruity can be explained if the *Elements* was not compiled in one go: an indication that the *Elements* was not written in order to serve only one purpose.²⁰ Nonetheless, it is not possible to comprehend Euclid's aim from the distribution of the first principles alone. In fact, over the last few decades, the mathematical and logical structure of the *Elements* has been the subject of numerous studies, the most illustrious of which is still Mueller's *Philosophy of Mathematics and Deductive Structure in Euclid's Elements*.

In summary, these discussions have convincingly shown that various parts of the *Elements* seem to examine distinct subjects, and, thus, do

Table 8.1 *The allocation of the first principles in the Elements*

Book	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Definitions	23	2	11	7	18	5	23	—	—	4/6/6	28	—	—
Postulates	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Common notions	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Propositions	49	15	40	18	27	38	40	28	37	133	42	23	23

mathematics, see Burnyeat 2000: 64–7. For the role of Plato in the development of mathematics see Proclus, in *Euc.* 211.18–21; Diogenes Laertius, *VPhil.* 3.24.7–14; *Index Acad.* Y 15–17; cf. (among others) Zhmud 2006: 82–116; Fowler 1999: 103–48; Karasmanis 1990; Knorr 1982; Lloyd 1978: 220–1; Mueller 1969; Wedberg 1955: 9; Neugebauer 1952: 145–77; Cherniss 1945: 65.

¹⁹ As presented in Heiberg & Stamatis 1969–77. Aristotle (*APo.* 71b–76a) refers to the first principles in each genus as 'those whose existence does not admit of demonstration'; cf. Heron, *Df.* 137.6.1; Proclus, in *Euc.* 57.26–58.2, 75.27–77.6, 178.1–13.

²⁰ See Mueller 1981: 207; Herz-Fischler 1979: 420.

not seem to lead towards Euclid's alleged final goal.²¹ In other words, the construction of the regular solids, in the general context of the *Elements*, is only one among its several highlights. Describing the deductive structure of books 11–13, Mueller notices that: 'the looseness of Euclid's reasoning in these books makes it unlikely that any accounts of their deductive structure can be completely satisfactory'.²² Expressing a more extreme view, Tannery suggests that book 13 is perhaps an independent treatise incorporated in the *Elements* with little revision – a view also adopted by Van der Waerden.²³ Regardless of whether this hypothesis is valid or not, we have strong indications that the Platonic solids were discovered and studied much earlier than 300 BCE. An entry in the *Suda* claims that it was Theaetetus who first 'constructed' the five regular solids, whereas Hypsicles records that Aristaeus authored a book entitled *Concerning the Comparison of the Five Regular Solids*.²⁴

Based on the evidence discussed in this section, the following details stand out. First, numerous propositions in the *Elements* appear to have no connection with the construction of the regular solids. Moreover, the aim of book 13 is not merely the construction of these solids, but also their study.²⁵ Second, there exists no early source whatsoever which refers to Euclid's philosophical agenda. Proclus, our only late source, does not rely on earlier evidence and formulates his conclusion based on his own interpretation of the *Elements*. Third, according to tradition, the regular solids were constructed earlier than 300 BCE – and, thus, we have no strong reasons to promote the idea that Euclid was working in the framework of a philosophical tradition: a mathematical tradition existed as well. To conclude, Proclus' idea is influential and romantic; nevertheless, all evidence is against the view that Euclid's mere mathematical aim in the *Elements* was the construction of the regular polyhedra.

²¹ Mueller identifies particular propositions in books 3, 4, 6, 8 and 9 with no future use and puzzling logical structure; Mueller 1981: 63; 155–6; 204; 302–3. Also see Morrow 1970: l–li and Heath 1908, vol. 1: 2.

²² Mueller 1981: 247.

²³ Tannery 1887: 101; Van der Waerden 1954: 173–5. Cf. Riedlberger 2013: 40, Netz 2010: 436–7. On the other hand, Mueller (1981: 251) argues that the logical dependence of book 13 on earlier books is as strong as that of the other books of the *Elements*; see also Artmann 1991: 15; Herz-Fischler 1987: 26–7.

²⁴ Some others attribute this discovery to the Pythagoreans. For the references, see Heath 1908, vol. 3: 438–9.

²⁵ In each proposition, Euclid first constructs the required solid, then circumscribes it in a given sphere, and, finally, investigates the ratio of its sides to the diameter of its circumscribing sphere.

8.3 Euclid, the Athenian

In this section, I propose to discuss a viewpoint stated by Heath: namely, that Euclid was trained in Athens by the pupils of Plato, mainly because: a) most geometers who could have taught him were in Athens; b) the people who wrote *Elements* before Euclid were also there; and c) the people on whose works the *Elements* depend were, again, in Athens.²⁶ My main aim here is *not* to challenge the idea that Euclid might have lived in Athens for a period of his life, but rather to critique the way in which many studies reproduce Heath's views as if they were unchallenged facts.

The first premise identifies Athens as the centre of mathematics at the time, and implies that basic rules of probability necessitate that Euclid's mathematical background must have been situated there. The truth is that until 300 BCE, Athens was indeed the intellectual centre of the Greek world; however, the mathematical activity in other parts of the Greek world was so great that it cannot be easily ignored. From 400 to 300 BCE, the cities of Abdera, Colophon, Croton, Cyzicus, Helicon, Lampsacus, Magnesia, Pitane, Samos, Tarentum and Thasos became places of activity for several memorable mathematicians, like Aristaeus, Hippias, Theudius and Autolycus.²⁷ Therefore, we cannot afford to rule out the possibility that Euclid might have studied in any of these places. Furthermore, we have no information about the place of activity of important mathematicians of this period like Leon, Neoclides and Antiphon. Given that these people might have travelled around the Greek world, Euclid, perhaps their student, could also have been taught mathematics in any number of places besides Athens.²⁸

The second premise states that the people who wrote pre-Euclidean *Elements* lived in Athens, and implies that since Euclid wrote *Elements* as well, he must have been there too. There are two objections to this argument. The first one relates to Proclus, our main source on pre-Euclidean *Elements*. His reliability on connecting famous people of the past with the Academy is, as I explained earlier, debatable.²⁹ The second objection

²⁶ Heath 1908, vol. 1: 2.

²⁷ See Netz 1997: 6–9.

²⁸ This includes mathematicians that are usually considered close to Plato; see, for example, in the *Theaetetus* 143d, how Socrates views Theodorus more as a 'visiting geometer' than a native of Athens.

²⁹ Cf. n. 9. Proclus, possibly copying from Eudemus, records that three people wrote *Elements* of Geometry before Euclid; namely, Hippocrates of Chios, Leon and Theudius. Proclus, in *Euc.* 66.7–67.20; cf. Marinus, in *Dt.* 236.3–4; Pappus, *Coll.* 7.662.19–20. Of these people, only Hippocrates is somehow associated with Plato, though not with the Academy; cf. Aristotle, *EE* 1247a17–20; Philoponus, in *Ph.* 16.31.1–8. As for the others, we believe that Theudius lived in Magnesia, while we have no indication about Leon's place of activity. Karasmanis (2009: 153–9) argues that Leon 'the Byzantine' mentioned by Plutarch and Philostratus is the same person as Proclus' Leon; nevertheless, the available evidence on this is circumstantial.

relies on the fact that Euclid wrote other works beside the *Elements*, some of which appear to have stronger connections with schools other than the Academy. We know, for example, that Aristaeus wrote *Conics* before Euclid;³⁰ therefore, an argument of this kind could lead us to the conclusion that Euclid must have studied with the pupils of Aristaeus (or Aristaeus himself). In a sentence, the second premise may lead to Heath's conclusion only if we focus on the *Elements*, and not on any other Euclidean treatises.

The third premise states that the people on whose works the *Elements* depend lived in Athens. It is beyond the scope of this paper to engage in greater depth with the question of the extent to which Euclid incorporated previous research; however, it is well established that most material brought together by Euclid in the *Elements*, the *Conics*, the *Phaenomena* and the *Optics* already existed during Plato's time, while some of his propositions were either discovered or proved – or both – in other parts of the Greek world, like Ionia and Magna Graecia.³¹ Therefore, the view that Euclid incorporates only the mathematical knowledge of Athens in his works is dubious.

In conclusion, this brief discussion demonstrates that there are some persuasive reasons for questioning the connection between Euclid and the Academy, and so we should not rely solely on Heath's arguments. Therefore, the idea that Euclid's place of mathematical activity was Athens can only be held as one among other possible scenarios.

8.4 Euclid, the Platonist

To this point, I have questioned the idea that the *Elements* was exclusively written to support the Platonic cosmological model as described in the *Timaeus*, and I have shown that Heath's arguments regarding Euclid's connection with Athens must not be taken for granted. In this section, I will engage with certain aspects of the Platonic philosophy which show considerable similarity with Euclid's practice in the *Elements*.

According to tradition, Plato placed an inscription over the door of the Academy similar to the following: 'Let no one unskilled in geometry enter'.³² Although not explicitly stated here, Plato was notoriously not

³⁰ Pappus, *Coll.* 7.672.18–682.20.

³¹ Cf. n. 7.

³² See Tzetzes, *CGF* 8.249.965–6, Philoponus, *in de An.* 15.117.29; Elias, *in Cat.* 118.18–19; Olympiodorus, *Proll.* 9.1; Pseudo-Galen, *De part. phil.* 2.4–6. The authenticity of this inscription has been challenged; see Fowler 1999: 199–204.

hospitable to all geometers: one of his most influential thoughts on mathematics was that all proper geometrical figures are composed of the 'straight' (τὸ εὐθύ) and the 'circular' (τὸ στρογγύλον), a corollary of which is that proper geometry should use no other tools than compass and ruler.³³ Based on the apparent similarities between Plato's 'proper geometry' and Euclid's practice in the *Elements*, where all geometrical constructions involved are performed via the sole use of ruler and compass,³⁴ the idea that Euclid was working within a Platonic context may gain support. This hypothesis, however, presents the same fallacy as Heath's second premise: namely, it establishes a conclusion about Euclid's philosophical background only on the basis of what appears in the *Elements*. We must consider that Euclid also wrote *Conics* and that he probably worked on mechanics as well. If he was obliged by a philosophical doctrine to use only compass and ruler, then not just the *Elements* but all of his works should have been compatible with these geometrical principles; however, this is clearly not the case. Therefore, the lack of mechanical constructions in the *Elements* does not imply Euclid's Platonic background per se.

Most importantly, the origins of the 'compass-and-ruler' practice can be traced back to a point earlier than Euclid and Plato: Proclus, relying on Eudemus, records that Oenopides of Chios was the first to draw a perpendicular straight line, from a given point to a given finite straight line.³⁵ If this information is correct, there is no need to introduce a philosophical tradition – in our case, the Platonic one – to explain what takes place in Euclid's works: it coexisted alongside a mathematical tradition. Besides, Plato himself never denied its existence. More specifically, in the

³³ This view is stated in the *Meno* (74d–e; cf. Aristotle, *Ph.* 188a26), where Socrates and Meno discuss the definition of a figure, and in the *Parmenides* (*Prm.* 137d6–e1), where Parmenides and the young Aristotle argue that 'the one' cannot get a shape because it participates neither in the 'straight', nor in the 'circular'. Hints about Plato's 'proper' geometry also appear in several other contexts, from the kind of astronomy he allegedly requested from his pupils, to the strong aversion he apparently had to the mechanical solutions for the problem of duplicating a cube proposed by Archytas, Eudoxus and Menaechmus. In Plutarch's words (*Marc.* 14.11.1–5): 'Plato resented and inveighed against them [Eudoxus and Archytas] for destroying and corrupting the virtue of geometry by making it leave the region of pure intellect and come within that of the senses, and become mixed up with bodies which require much base servile labour.' Proclus (*in Euc.* 103.21–104.2) also records Plato's preference for 'the two simplest and most fundamental species of line', viz. the straight and the circular. Huffman (2005: 79) proposes that Plutarch's story is 'almost certainly false'; cf. Zhmud (2006), 93–4.

³⁴ Cf. Euclid, *Elem.* post. 1–3. The exclusiveness of the use of these instruments is negatively implied by the lack of any postulates that would allow the use of others.

³⁵ Proclus, *in Euc.* 283; cf. Euclid, *Elem.* 1.12. It stands to reason to assume that the passage refers to a geometrical perpendicular and not to a physical one; see Vitrac 1990, vol. 1: 239–40; Mueller 1981: 24; Heath 1908, vol. 1: 295. Also cf. n. 29.

Republic (510b–511a), written around 370 BCE, he offers a description of how mathematical research is conducted:³⁶ mathematicians are compelled to begin from hypotheses, and, doing so, they go through the rest and conclude with that which they set out to examine. It is uncertain whether Plato claims here that mathematicians hypothesise the existence of things, their definitions, or both at the same time.³⁷ It is certain, though, that all examples provided here – ‘the odd, the even, the figures and the three kinds of angles’ – are included in Euclid’s definitions in the *Elements*. More particularly, these examples belong to what are usually classified as ‘definitions of the second kind’.³⁸ Under this prism, Plato appears to give an account of a pre-Euclidean practice, in which mathematical treatises present only definitions of this kind,³⁹ whereas, in his own writings, he applies definitions of both kinds.⁴⁰ This could lead to the assumption that the definitions of the first kind in Euclid’s *Elements* emerged from Platonic critique.⁴¹

³⁶ For the dating of Plato’s dialogues, I use Brandwood 1993.

³⁷ According to Cornford (1932: 63), the description in the *Republic* constitutes a deductive methodology: ‘a downward movement from premise to conclusion’. Cf. *Theaetetus* 147c–148b, where the study of incommensurability begins by defining technical terms. Also see how Plato juxtaposes the necessities of geometry and sexual attraction in the *Republic* 458d, his approval of Agathon’s speech in the *Symposium* 199c2, and his profile of the good politician in *Euthyphro* 2c8–d4. Karasmanis (1990: 122–4) maps out key debates and presents the latest discussion on the subject; cf. Taylor 1967.

³⁸ Cf. Euclid: *Elem.* def. 7.6, 7; def. 1.14; def. 1.15, 18, 19, 20; def. 1.9, 11, 12. What constituted a definition for Euclid appears to be open to interpretation, as there are at least two different types of definitions in the *Elements*. First, we have definitions of elementary mathematical objects, like points, lines and units; for example, def. 1.1: ‘a point is that of which <there is> no part’ and def. 7.1: ‘a unit is that by virtue of which each of the things that exist are called one’. Second, we have definitions of advanced mathematical objects derived from the more simple ones; for example, def. 1.11: ‘an obtuse angle is <an angle> greater than a right <angle>’. Additionally, we have propositions describing the relationship between objects already defined; for example, def. 1.3: ‘the endings of a line <are> points’ and def. 1.6: ‘the endings of a surface <are> lines’.

³⁹ In the *Topics* (141b), Aristotle refers to the way his contemporary mathematicians defined their subject: speaking about points, lines and surfaces, he claims that all mathematicians define the prior by means of the posterior; Aristotle (*APo.* 72b) maintains that the regress must end in immediate truth or else it ends up being a circular argument.

⁴⁰ For example, in three of Plato’s dialogues we have descriptions similar to Euclid’s def. 7.1 (*Sph.* 245a8; *R.* 525d9–526a; *Prm.* 137d) and in the *Parmenides* (137e) we have a description similar to def. 1.4 (second kind). Also see the definition of the ‘shape’ in the *Meno* 76a and the definition of the ‘limit’ in the *Parmenides* 145a.

⁴¹ Mueller argues that the definitions of the first kind are ‘mathematically useless’ and that they ‘are never invoked in the subsequent development’; Mueller 1981: 40; cf. Panza 2012: 84–5. However, as Mueller himself acknowledges (1981: 40), there is no real evidence that the ancient Greeks made any distinction between these kinds of definitions. Moreover, to complicate matters, Euclid does not cite which propositions he uses. Therefore, it is not easy to establish a criterion which can accurately determine which of the previous propositions were used.

Although this is, indeed, a valid hypothesis, there is some other relevant evidence which cannot be ignored. First, it is not certain which first principles – if any – were included in Euclid's original version of the *Elements*.⁴² Moreover, some sources indicate that definitions of the first kind appeared earlier than Plato: Aristotle (*Metaph.* 987a, 1043a21–2) tells us that the Pythagoreans were the first to define the essence of objects, and that Archytas investigated general definitions; moreover, Nicomachus (*Ar.* 1.7.3.2–6) records a Pythagorean definition of an even number and Sextus Empiricus attributes to Pythagoras a definition almost identical to Euclid's def. 7.1.⁴³ Finally, there are some remarkable differences between the mathematics described by Plato and Euclid's practice in the *Elements*: for example, the division of the first principles into definitions, common notions and postulates can nowhere be found in the Platonic corpus; while common notions do appear in Plato's writings, there are no postulates⁴⁴ and several definitions appear in different forms.⁴⁵

To bring this discussion to an end: there is some common ground between Plato's and Euclid's writings; thus, it comes as no surprise that one is tempted to assume some kind of influence of the former on the latter. Nevertheless, the extant evidence argues against literal resemblance. As our current knowledge allows us to claim, it seems to me more probable that, instead of being directly influenced, Euclid draws material from a pre-existing mathematical tradition, which was, in turn, probably influenced by philosophical doctrines – such as those flourishing in the Academy – that originated before Euclid's time.⁴⁶

⁴² For the view that most of the definitions of book 1 of the *Elements* were Heron's addition, see Russo 1998; cf. Tannery 1884. For the latest study of Heiberg's textual choices, see Vitrac 2012.

⁴³ 'A first principle of beings is the unit, by participating in which each of the beings is called one' Sextus Empiricus, *M.* 10.261–2, my translation; cf. Euclid, *Elem.* def. 7.1: 'a unit is that by virtue of which each of the things that exist are called one'. According to Taisbak (1971: 14), this definition has an 'unmistakable' Platonic ring: the preposition κατὰ is reminiscent of the theory of participation: namely, a thing is called one by virtue of its participation in the idea of 'unity'. On the other hand, Pritchard (1995: 12) deconstructs this idea and argues that this definition owes nothing to Platonic metaphysics, simply because it does not originate with Plato. According to Proclus, the Pythagoreans described a point as a 'monad with position added'; Proclus, in *Euc.* 95.21–2. This definition is used by Aristotle: *de An.* 409a6.

⁴⁴ Cf. Plato, *Prm.* 154b; *Chrm.* 168c–e.

⁴⁵ As an example, in the *Parmenides* 137e1–2, 'round' is defined as 'that of which the furthest points in all directions are at the same distance from the middle point'. In the *Timaeus* 33b4–5, a sphere is defined in a similar way. Cf. Euclid, *Elem.* def. 11.14: 'When, the diameter of a semicircle remaining fixed, the semicircle is carried round and restored again to the same position from which it began to be moved, the figure so comprehended is a sphere.'

⁴⁶ Cf. Mueller 1970: 167–8; Apostle 1958: 134. Also see Leszl 1981: 272.

8.5 Final Remarks

On a general level, this paper has dealt with one of the most fascinating aspects of the Platonic Academy; namely, the extent to which the institute directly affected the development of mathematical reasoning. Under this prism, it can be seen as part of a longstanding debate on the relation between Greek philosophy and mathematics. The famous Knorr–Szabó debate has coined the two contrary views on this subject, with one side claiming that it was mathematics that affected philosophical argumentation, and the other one supporting the opposite direction of influence.⁴⁷ Given the irrecoverable nature of the documental evidence, it comes as no surprise that a *terminus a quo* cannot be identified; on the other hand, this paper concludes that a relatively accurate *terminus ad quem* can be pinpointed around 300 BCE. This offers a clearer picture of the historical period in which mathematicians after Euclid, e.g. Apollonius and Archimedes, became relatively independent from philosophical schools, thus signifying the emergence of a rather autonomous mathematical community.

⁴⁷ Szabó 1960; 1969: 302. Knorr 1982: 112–15. See also McKirahan 2000: 5 and Berka 1981.

The Study of Natural Kinds in the Early Academy

István Bodnár*

9.1

When it comes to the cognition of natural entities, Plato apparently has a double story to tell. According to one, the study of perceptible entities cannot be an autonomous endeavour in its own right. Whenever we encounter some instances of a natural entity we need to be led on to some higher reality, a Form, the item which this manifestation participates in, or of which this manifestation is a copy. But things do not stop there. Indeed, in the *Phaedo*, where such an interest in issues of nature is proposed as part of a fictive intellectual autobiography of Socrates, a first stipulation would require that everything should be understood in light of the goodness or excellence it has. Unless such an understanding is provided, the account we get remains crucially lacking. As Socrates admits, he is unable to complete this project. Hence he turns to a more restricted one, of starting out from the hypothesis of postulating the Forms, and then establishing both what follows from this supposition and what is in conflict with it.¹

This procedure will allow for the existence of the counterparts of these Forms *in us*, as contrasted to the existence of the original Forms *in nature*, i.e. according to their own nature.² The terminology certainly suggests that what needs to be grasped in all such instances is the way these higher realities are in isolation from their different manifestations. This same intellectual progression, from more mundane and lowly images or copies to the only worthy objects of cognition, is then

* I am grateful to Vincent Peluce for his generous help and advice in preparing the final version of this paper.

¹ The intellectual autobiography starts at *Phaedo* 95e and leads up to the more ambitious requirement of providing teleological explanations at 97b. The second-best account that is going to be pursued by Socrates is introduced and characterised from 99c.

² *Phaedo* 102d–103c.

expressed in the different great similes of dialogues like the *Republic* and the *Phaedrus*.

The other approach, which is not unrelated, is introduced in the *Timaeus*. There, we get a likely account, in great detail, of the story of the teleologically motivated construction of the world. For this semi-mythical construction of the world, the divine craftsman relies upon the Form of the living being as he produces the soul and body of the world. Then seeing that it is not complete in this form, he charges some lesser and less perfect deities (as his subcontractors) with populating the world with the different kinds of living beings.

Now, if we started to set out the details of the Platonic account or accounts of the relationship between perceptible items and their ideal originals, that then could provide the basis of comparison between Plato and Aristotle, stressing how much Aristotle differs from or how much he owes to Plato. This, however, would only be part of the story. No doubt, Aristotle took much of his philosophical inspiration in the Academy from – and against – Plato. But the Academy was no one-man show, and was not the place for the unfolding of the debate between the original master and his most significant disciple. The philosophical interactions were much, much richer than what even a thorough comparison between Plato and Aristotle could suggest.

Needless to say, much of the evidence for this rich hotbed of debate and interaction is lost. Nevertheless, in what follows I will try to assess some testimonies of two contemporaries of Aristotle, in order to see whether and in what sense these might be interpreted as evidence for – or against – some ongoing line of enquiry into natural kinds in the early Academy.

Before that, however, let me turn to a well-known scene from a comedy by Epicrates. This attests that popular imagination had an unflattering view of what was going on in the Academy, though it is not so devastating a depiction as that of Socrates' and Chaerephon's *Phrontistērion* in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. The stereotypes used by Aristophanes and by Epicrates are vastly different. In the *Clouds*, Socrates and his associates are engaged in a travesty of research into natural phenomena, and sophistry. In Epicrates' skit, the school activity is a source of ridicule, but it is much less outrageous. The dialogue starts with a query about Plato, Speusippus and Menedemus. In reply to this, a story is recounted. A flock of youngsters, in the Academy, during the Panathenaea,³

³ For the Greek of this passage, see Section C in the Appendix to Glucker's chapter in this volume.

(B.) in producing definitions about nature, were busy distinguishing the sorts of animals' lives, the nature of trees, and the kinds of vegetables.

And then, in the course of these, they were scrutinizing the gourd, what kind it belongs to.

(A.) And what did they determine? To which kind did they assign the plant? Let me know, if you have something to say.

(B.) At first, they all were motionless then, and speechless, and gazing down they were giving the issue thought for a long time. And then, suddenly, while the boys were still gazing down, searching, someone declared that it was a round vegetable; a herb – someone else said; a tree – said yet another one.

At this point the impasse is broken by a Sicilian physician, who farts in contempt at their silly talk. But to no avail:

(B.) This did not bother the boys at all: Plato was also there, and very gently, not being stirred at all, set them again to defining what kind it belongs to. And they went on dividing.

In public imagination, then, the Academy must have been busy trying to give accounts of natural kinds – not necessarily as all there was to the activities of the school, but at least as a didactic exercise, pursued jointly by the pupils under the supervision of the most senior members of the school. Moreover, the terms Epicrates uses also suggest a particular conceptual framework: the task is to give an account about the kind of life (*bios*) different animals lead, to determine the nature (*physis*) of the trees, and the kinds (*genē*) of vegetables. The starting point of such an exercise is, or at least can be beyond dispute: the gourd (κολοκύντη), which is to be accounted for here, is a *plant*. But within that, quite a few different options may be open. Indeed, those present come up with different suggestions. This impasse provokes vulgar and offensive contempt from an onlooker. But there is hope. Plato is unstirred by vulgar criticism and directs the boys back to the methodical procedure of carrying out divisions.

Certainly, this last detail of proceeding through divisions should be familiar to any reader of the *Sophist*. But this Epicrates text by itself cannot guarantee that it is a faithful account of the activities of the Academy any more than the Aristophanes skit in the *Clouds* could be anywhere near a fair representation of Socrates. Like Aristophanes, Epicrates too could attach to the butt of his ridicule any number of intellectual

excesses, exaggerated at will, and taken from the travesty of some practice of just about any contemporary intellectual circle.

Consequently, we should not be taken in by the facility of supposing that Aristotle's philosophy of nature, and his metaphysics, must have emerged in the context of an Academy, as he – together with other members of the school – was happily paving his way through divisions to definitions of natural kinds. Hence, I will proceed here to a survey of the testimonies we have about two key contemporaries of Aristotle, to see whether either of them can be credited with serious enquiry into natural kinds.

9.2

I will first discuss Xenocrates, the companion of Aristotle when they both left the Academy after Plato's death. Xenocrates has pride of place both in Aristotle's and Theophrastus' assessment:

Some people [as contrasted to Speusippus and Plato] say that Forms and numbers have the same nature, whereas the others are consequent upon them – lines and planes, up until the substance of the heavens and the perceptible things. (fr. 103 Isnardi Parente = Aristotle, *Metaphysics* B 2.1028b24–7)⁴

About the heavens and the rest, they make no further mention whatsoever. And likewise neither do those around Speusippus, nor anyone of the others, except Xenocrates: for he does somehow arrange everything about the universe, sensibles alike, and intelligibles and mathematical,⁵ and, what is more, the divine [things]. (fr. 100 Isnardi Parente = Theophrastus, *Metaphysics* 6b4–7, Gutas translation, slightly modified)⁶

But even though Xenocrates is unique in setting out his metaphysical account down to the level of perceptibles and the heavenly bodies, we have very little in terms of an enquiry into natural entities in their own right. This may be a coincidence of the state of our sources, and so a consequence of the interest of the authors reporting on Xenocrates. But there is an interesting further detail to consider in this instance, this time about Xenocrates' epistemology. When Sextus (7.147–9) gives a quick outline of

⁴ ἔνιοι δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶδη καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν φασὶ φύσιν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐχόμενα, γραμμὰς καὶ ἐπίπεδα, μέχρι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐσίαν καὶ τὰ αἰσθητά. (Fragments of Xenocrates are cited according to Isnardi Parente 1982, for Theophrastus' *Metaphysics* [or *On First Principles*] Gutas 2010 has been consulted.)

⁵ Here the *kai* is most probably explicative – in which case, intelligible entities are identified with the mathematical ones.

⁶ τοῦ δ' οὐρανοῦ περὶ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδεμίαν ἔτι ποιοῦνται μνείαν· ὡσαύτως δ' οἱ περὶ Σπεύσιππον, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐθεὶς πλὴν Ξενοκράτης οὗτος γὰρ ἅπαντά πως περιτίθειν περὶ τὸν κόσμον, ὁμοίως αἰσθητά καὶ νοητά καὶ μαθηματικά καὶ ἔτι δὴ τὰ θεῖα.

Xenocrates' doctrines about the criterion, he submits that the three ontological realms – that of perceptible entities, that of intelligible entities and that of believable entities – each have their own dedicated mode of cognition. This is still very much in a Platonic mode, something on the loose analogy of the Divided Line, with some crucial differences: first, that there is no distinction in the upper segment of the Divided Line, between mathematical cognition (*dianoia*) and the direct grasp of ideas (*nous*), as Forms are identical to the mathematical entities by Xenocrates' lights. The totality of these entities constitutes what Sextus refers to as the substance beyond the heavens.

But there is a further change as far as the domain of non-intellectual cognition is concerned. In place of the Platonic contrast within the domain of *doxa* between *pistis*, directed at perceptible objects, and *eikasia*, directed at images of these objects, Xenocrates sets up a contrast between the realm under the heavens, accessible through perception (*aisthēsis*), and the entities accessible through *doxa*. In Sextus' account, according to Xenocrates, *doxa* crucially differs from *aisthēsis* in that it is directed at the heavenly realm. The heavenly realm is the object of this mode of cognition, and it is composite. It is visible, so it is accessible through perception, but it is also the object of intellectual cognition, through astronomy, or perhaps in a more restrictive mode, through what can be termed the mathematical part of astronomy. A further distinction from the Platonic simile is Xenocrates' thorough-going epistemological optimism: the criterion of the substance beyond the heavens is science or knowledge (*epistēmē*), that of the perceptible substance is perception. Perception *does* provide truth, but not in the way in which epistemonik account does.

In the case of the mixed domain of the heavens, we have both avenues of cognition, knowledge and perception, and together they provide for opinion (*doxa*). This can be partly true and partly false.

What may be relevant here is the clear contrast with the celestial realm, that the sublunary domain as such is the domain of perception, unaided by epistemonik accounts. First and foremost this does not overrule the express claim that perception provides us with truths about perceptible objects, but it certainly suggests severe epistemic restrictions on what kind of acquaintance is possible with these objects of perception.

Nevertheless, one should resist attributing a happy and brute perceptualism about cognition of natural entities to Xenocrates. Not only did he write a *Physics* in six books (or two *Physics*, in six books each),⁷ there are

⁷ See D.L. 4.11 (Περὶ φύσεως α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ') and 13 (Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ').

some claims about the sublunary world attributed to him in our sources. What is, however, stressed in Sextus' account is the very strict division of labour in these cases. The subcelestial, perceptible realm can have some commonality with the supraceutical, intelligible one. If this were not so, Xenocrates' cosmos could also be charged with a thoroughly episodic structure, a charge Aristotle makes repeatedly against Speusippus. In the context of Xenocrates' account, this would mean that a cognition of the supraceutical realm would have no bearing on the subcelestial domain. Or, to put it otherwise: mathematical knowledge would be completely cut off from the physical reality of our everyday experience. Apart from the special case of astronomy, there would be no room for applied mathematics, for the branches of mathematical knowledge like optics or harmonics.

This consideration, however, should not overrule the strict division of competence between intellection and perception. Accordingly, even if we were to allow for such cognition through these branches of applied mathematics – and let me stress, we have no piece of positive evidence in support of this claim – what the cognition of applied mathematics can grasp should be in some sense exemplified in, but nevertheless should still be beyond, the perceptual domain.

Leaving this rather speculative consideration behind, we can turn to the testimonies for claims about the subcelestial domain attributed to Xenocrates. It is important to stress that the sparse testimonies we have do not provide us with evidence about enquiry into natural kinds. These testimonies amount to Xenocrates' doctrine of indivisible magnitudes, which most probably has relevance for corporeal existence.⁸ Then we have his definition of soul. Furthermore, in a theological context, where

⁸ Here it is instructive to contrast Porphyry's testimony (quoted by Simplicius in his commentary on the *Physics*, p. 140), and Proclus' interpretation of Xenocrates' claim. Porphyry submits that the plurality of indivisible items is a plurality of beings, which have further divisible extension and matter, but are indivisible and primary in virtue of their form. The interpretation is contested by Proclus. He rebuts small-minded Peripatetic criticism of Plato's suggestion that the soul moves in a circle by asserting that this is not meant as referring to a *physical* line, which is the boundary of a body, nor to a *mathematical* line. The latter kind of line is without motion, and is not substance, whereas the soul is. Proclus' contention, then, is that here one needs to talk about *substantial* lines. This suggestion, then, is further corroborated by Proclus' claim that in introducing substantial lines he follows the example of Xenocrates, who submitted about such substantial lines that they are indivisible (Proclus, *in Ti.* 2.245 f.). So understood, such a claim about the indivisibility of substantial lines most probably should not carry over to indivisibility of corporeal existence. Indeed, if it did, Proclus' claim that Xenocrates needs to speak about substantial lines as opposed to physical or mathematical ones would be unfounded. If either physical or mathematical lines were indivisible by Proclus' lights, he would not be entitled to make his claim that Xenocrates cannot mean those other indivisible entities.

he apparently enumerates the different divinities in a sequence of diminishing excellence, he also includes among them the *daimones* of the sub-celestial realm.⁹ But in none of these three cases does perception play a role. Indivisible magnitudes are indivisible because of considerations about extensions. In the intellectual domain, the cognition of the soul – a self-moving number – is not the task of perception either.¹⁰ And finally, one key feature of the *daimones* is that they are invisible; they are not present to perception as such.

All in all, this suggests that for all the completeness of his metaphysical coverage, as stressed by Aristotle and Theophrastus, this complete coverage need not have included anything close to a systematic study of the different natural kinds.

9.3

We can turn now to Speusippus after Xenocrates: a less likely candidate for conducting enquiry into natural kinds than Xenocrates, who was singled out for honourable mention for his reaching down to every part of the cosmos. But, as I submit, Aristotle's and Theophrastus' claim will turn out to contest against Speusippus much less. What both of them stress is that Speusippus' account creates an episodic, unconnected cosmos. His cosmos accordingly is one in which the separate domains are not connected, or in which their connection is extremely tenuous.

Apart from this, however, there is no reason to think that Speusippus' attention would have excluded any domain. Granted, one Aristotelian list might mistakenly suggest that after a discussion of mathematical entities he provided only a discussion of the principles of soul and did not reach any further:

Speusippus names even more substances (i.e. more than Plato, who according to Aristotle named three types – forms, mathematical substances and perceptible ones), starting from the one, and giving principles of each substance – a different one for numbers, a different one for magnitudes, and then [a different one] for soul. This way he extends substances. (*Metaphysics* Z 2.1028b21–3, continuing with Xenocrates)¹¹

The way the passage continues might appear to contrast Speusippus and Xenocrates, as it is asserted about Xenocrates only that he reached all the

⁹ Aetius, p. 304. The testimony is extant only in Stobaeus' version.

¹⁰ Indeed, Xenocrates must have taken the *Timaeus* as the key starting point of his psychology.

¹¹ Σπεύσιππος δὲ καὶ πλείους οὐσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀρξάμενος, καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐκάστης οὐσίας, ἄλλην μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἄλλην δὲ μεγεθῶν, ἔπειτα ψυχῆς· καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἔπεκτείνει τὰς οὐσίας.

way down to perceptible entities. Nevertheless, the claim that Speusippus extended substances further *than Plato* suggests that, according to Aristotle, he also acknowledged and gave some account of Plato's third type – that of perceptible substances.

If we had any serious doubts about this, a different consideration would lead to the very same conclusion. In *Metaphysics* Λ, Aristotle mentions that Speusippus is among those mistaken philosophers who propose

that the finest and the best are not in the origin, because the origins of plants and animals are their cause, but the excellent and the complete is what is developed from these. (Aristotle, *Metaphysics* Λ 7.1072b30–4)¹²

This, combined with the similarly damning verdict of Theophrastus, suggests that this region of excellence is in the sublunary domain,

just as Speusippus makes the noble which is about the place of the centre something rare, and the rest, extremes and on either side. (Theophrastus, *Metaphysics* 11a22–5, Gutas translation, slightly modified)¹³

This means that we have no reason to suppose that Speusippus' interest would have excluded physical reality.

But then we should certainly expect Speusippus to follow also in this instance his usual pattern of explanation, of setting out separate starting points, dedicated exclusively to this realm, when he turned his attention to physical reality.

For what it is worth, in a description of the articulation of mathematical principles, extant in Iamblichus' *De communi mathematica scientia* ch. 4, which follows the episodic structure of Speusippus' account, after the level of numbers and extensions (lines, surfaces, solids), two further levels of reality are indicated, both complete with their own elements, just as should be expected of an episodic account.

What these last levels of reality are is not indicated in this portion of the text. All we are told is that they are the fourth and the fifth kinds, and that they are the last ones,

but at the extreme, among the fourths and fifths, which are combined from the last elements, it is possible that deviousness comes to be, not in a principal fashion, but from something falling away from and failing to

¹² ὅσοι δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Σπεύσιππος τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον μὴ ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων τὰς ἀρχὰς αἴτια μὲν εἶναι τὸ δὲ καλὸν καὶ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τούτων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴονται.

¹³ ὥσπερ Σπεύσιππος σπᾶνιὸν τι τὸ τίμιον ποιεῖ τὸ περὶ τὴν τοῦ μέσου χώραν, τὰ δ' ἄκρα καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν.

hold sway over some things¹⁴ which belong to its nature. (*De communi mathematica scientia* 4, p. 18, 9–12)¹⁵

The chapter closes then with an explicit enumeration:

From these it is also clear what difference the mathematical principles have as contrasted to the other ones. For they precede the last principles, because whereas those are somehow corporeal, they [the mathematical principles] are incorporeal, and [they precede] the principles contemplated according to life, because whereas those are characterised according to motion, they are immobile, and [they precede] the intelligible principles, because whereas those are previously partless, they [the mathematical principles] provide them with the principle of composition and division.

Let this be the determination of our general account about the mathematical principles, and the specific one about each one of them. How they differ from the other principles, let that be distinguished in this way. (*De communi mathematica scientia* 4, p. 18, 13–23)¹⁶

Here the inclusion of intelligible entities, complete with their own principles, is suspect. It seems like an attempt on the part of the author of these passages in the *De communi mathematica scientia* – either Iamblichus himself, or his source – at including intelligible entities distinct from mathematical ones.¹⁷ If intelligibles over and above the mathematical entities were to feature in Speusippus, that would mean a reassessment of the ontological status of Platonic forms, and not their exclusion in favour of the mathematical entities, as Aristotle reports.

But otherwise the identification of the fourth and fifth realm as that of life – i.e. that of soul – and that of corporeality makes perfect sense, especially in view of the fact that these should be the levels where deviousness, as falling away from excellence, should be present.

¹⁴ τινα – a plurality.

¹⁵ ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τετάρτοις καὶ πέμπτοις τοῖς συντιθεμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων τῶν τελευταίων κακίαν γενέσθαι οὐ προηγουμένως, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐκπίπτειν καὶ μὴ κατακρατεῖν τινα τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν.

¹⁶ Ἐκ δὲ τούτων φανερόν ἐστι καὶ τίνα ἔχουσι τὴν διαφορὰν αἱ μαθηματικαὶ ἀρχαὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας· τῶν μὲν γὰρ τελευταίων προέχουσι, διότι σωματικῶν πῶς ἐκείνων οὐσῶν αὐταὶ εἰσιν ἀσώματοι, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ζωὴν θεωρουμένων, διότι κατὰ κίνησιν ἐκείνων χαρακτηριζομένων αὐταὶ εἰσιν ἀκίνητοι, τῶν δὲ νοητῶν, διότι ἀμερίστων ἐκείνων προὑπαρχουσῶν αὐταὶ συνθέσεως καὶ διαιρέσεως ἀρχὴν παρέχονται.

οὕτως ἡμῖν ὁ κοινὸς λόγος περὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ ὁ ἴδιος περὶ ἐκάστων ἐχέτω διορισμόν· πῇ τε διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν, οὕτωςι διακεκρίσθω.

¹⁷ This is not the sole point where the author of the passage in *De communi mathematica scientia* may have adjusted Speusippus' ontological scheme. Already the very beginning of the passage (p. 15, 6 ff.) introduces the account in terms of the principles of *mathematical* numbers. With this terminology, the author, unlike Speusippus, allows room for a level of reality distinct from mathematical number from the outset. See Dillon 2012c: 199, n. 22.

Furthermore, this assessment is matched also by Sextus' report on Speusippus' account of the criterion, which Sextus gives just before his report about Xenocrates (7.145–6). The crucial differences between Xenocrates and Speusippus on this score are twofold. First, Speusippus introduces only two kinds of criteria, one for intelligible entities, and another one for perceptible ones. This means that apparently he does not make a special epistemological pleading for astronomy.

Moreover, the criterion for perceptible reality is not just perception. Rather, it is perception of a specific kind: epistemonik perception, perception informed and imbued with reasoning. This kind of perception partakes of the truth which can be grasped through reason, but nevertheless it remains on the level of perception. The simile Sextus employs is that of the artful musician, whose fingers obey patterns which do not originate from the fingers themselves, but rather from the practice according to reasoning.¹⁸

The simile may in all probability go back to Speusippus. A trained musician has to be knowledgeable about the arithmetical structures governing harmonies, to the extent that he or she can follow them just out of the flow of music, without engaging in reasoning about them. While in the process of learning and practising, they may very well need to address issues of arithmetic and of different ratios. Once their practice and training is completed, however, their epistemonik perception will take over, and they will be able to concentrate on the reality corresponding to the activity they are engaged with.

Aristotle may very well demur – and indeed he does – that Speusippus' account does not explain how arithmetical knowledge can be operative in this way.¹⁹ Nevertheless, Speusippus' intention might be fairly clear. Just as his ontological framework is one of a descending order of levels of reality, where the connections between the different levels remain less than pellucid, his epistemological account also provides for such cognitive

¹⁸ Sextus, *M.* 7.145–6: Σπεύσιππος δέ, ἐπεὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἔστιν αἰσθητά, τὰ δὲ νοητά, τῶν μὲν νοητῶν κριτήριον ἔλεξεν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιστημονικὸν λόγον, τῶν δὲ αἰσθητῶν τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν αἴσθησιν. ἐπιστημονικὴν δὲ αἴσθησιν ὑπέιληφε καθεστάναι τὴν μεταλαμβάνουσαν τῆς κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἀληθείας. (146) ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῦ αὐλοῦ ἢ τοῦ ψάλτου δάκτυλοι τεχνικὴν μὲν εἶχον ἐνέργειαν, οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ προηγουμένης τελειουμένην, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν λογισμὸν συνασκήσεως ἀπαρτιζομένην, καὶ ὥς ἡ τοῦ μουσικοῦ αἴσθησις ἐνέργειαν μὲν εἶχεν ἀντιληπτικὴν τοῦ τε ἡρμοσμένου καὶ τοῦ ἀναρμόστου, ταύτην δὲ οὐκ αὐτοφυῆ, ἀλλ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ περιγεγονυῖαν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἐπιστημονικὴ αἴσθησις φυσικῶς παρὰ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς μεταλαμβάνει τριβῆς πρὸς ἀπλανῆ τῶν ὑποκειμένων διάγνωσιν.

¹⁹ See *Metaphysics* N, 2.1090a13–15.

connections, through which perception is able to address and recognise cognitive contents not directly accessible to it.

With this in mind, we may propose some conjectures as to why Speusippus does not need to introduce a special status to the cognition of objects of astronomy. Without a special status for the type of cognition for astronomy, it can be classed in one of two types. Either it is science – a mathematical science at that – with the same type of cognitive grasp as the other branches of mathematics, or Speusippus could take astronomy to be already operative with this epistemonik perception. In the latter case, he should opt for differences of degree between the different ways in which we have perceptual grasp of the perceptual entities, and these differences can be very significant. But in principle it is possible that whatever cognitive grasp we are provided with by perception will ultimately rest on some insight about the mathematical structure applicable to the particular type of entity.

9.4

It remains to be seen how stringent such epistemonik perception is, which is to say to what extent such epistemonik perception is practicable and attainable. Aristotle criticises those according to whom, in order to know anything, one needs to know all the differences it may have from anything else – for such cognition, as Aristotle stresses, we would need to know all the things there are.

There is no need for one who is defining and dividing to know everything there is. Yet some say that it is impossible to know a thing's differences from something without knowing that thing; but that without knowing the differences one cannot know that thing – for it is the same as that from which it does not differ and different from that from which it does differ. (*Posterior Analytics* 2.13 97a6–11)²⁰

This impossibly stringent requirement for knowing anything is ascribed to Speusippus by the commentators on the authority of Eudemus.²¹ We should first of all note that the ascription to Speusippus already entails a tacit relaxation of the claim itself. In a strictly levelled universe, with episodically independent domains, an entity housed at one level will differ from all the entities of the different levels, without a strict assessment of

²⁰ οὐδὲν δὲ δεῖ τὸν ὀρίζομενον καὶ διαιρούμενον ἅπαντα εἰδέναι τὰ ὄντα. καίτοι ἀδύνατόν φασί τινες εἶναι τὰς διαφορὰς εἰδέναι τὰς πρὸς ἕκαστον μὴ εἰδότα ἕκαστον· ἀνευ δὲ τῶν διαφορῶν οὐκ εἶναι ἕκαστον εἰδέναι· οὐ γὰρ μὴ διαφέρει, ταῦτόν εἶναι τούτῳ, οὐ δὲ διαφέρει, ἕτερον τούτου.

²¹ Eudemus, fr. 24 Wehrli. (Fragments of Eudemus are cited according to Wehrli 1969.)

the exact difference between these entities falling into different ontological greatest kinds. Instead, the relevant differences should be the ones in the same ontological domain, even if in order to assess these one needs to have some prior access to some higher entities, as in the case of epistemonik perception.

Nevertheless, complete coverage may be elusive even when restricted to independent domains. In some cases, like that of the separate branches of mathematics, complete coverage is in principle attainable once the necessary starting points and the valid inferential procedures are available.

Here it is relevant that Speusippus does not allow for an open-ended process of constructions in mathematics. As Proclus reports – again, on the authority of Eudemus – all there is to geometry is theorems which are proofs of what is there to be grasped.²²

A similar point is made in the prior domain of numbers. Although the claim is hard to assess, Speusippus – similarly to Xenocrates – stresses the finiteness of the domain of numbers by submitting that the number ten, the decad, contains all that there is relevant to arithmetic relations.

Some such similar exhaustive coverage should in principle be possible also in the case of perceptible entities. Nevertheless, the web of differences and identities among such perceptibles may soon become intractable, even when it is only perceptible *kinds* that are related in such an account.

There should be several ways to address this issue. For one, something like an epistemonik perception may be available also at this level, even if the source of the rational insights guiding such perception may remain elusive. The other consideration may be that when this full-fledged epistemonik perception is not available, one can resort to substitutes, perhaps making room also for a piecemeal process of approaching something like finality in establishing the web of relevant differences among the different kinds.

Hence I suggest that the not negligible evidence we have of Speusippus' drawing up divisions and establishing similarities may be something like a second sailing. The very existence of several books of similarities might in itself suggest that these are not just any kinds of similarities among some biological kinds (and dissimilarities, contrasting these kinds to some, or all the other kinds). And indeed, at least one

²² Proclus, in *Euc.* 77.15–20: ἥδη δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ μὲν πάντα θεωρήματα καλεῖν ἡξίωσαν, ὥς οἱ περὶ Σπεύσιππον καὶ Ἀμφίνομον, ἡγούμενοι ταῖς θεωρητικαῖς ἐπιστήμαις οἰκειοτέραν εἶναι τὴν τῶν θεωρημάτων προσηγορίαν ἢ τὴν τῶν προβλημάτων, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ αἰδίων ποιουμέναις τοὺς λόγους.

testimony in Athenaeus suggests that the point of enumerating these similarities is to effect some kind of ordering, some kind of rudimentary taxonomy:

Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* says that trumpet shells, purple shellfish, whelks, and conchs are very much alike ... Furthermore, Speusippus again lists in succession separately conchs, scallops, mussels, pinnas and razor-shells, and in another part oysters and limpets. (Athenaeus, 3.86c–d = Speusippus fr. 8 Tarán)²³

This activity of finding similarities and dissimilarities may also have included the at least tentative demarcation of some larger animal kinds. Perhaps we even have evidence for this in another passage in Athenaeus, if indeed the terminology of *malakostraka* goes back to Speusippus himself:

Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* says that among the crustaceans (*malakostraka*) the ones that closely resemble one another are the crayfish, lobster, *nymphē*, bear-crab, crab (*karkinos*), and common crab (*pagouros*) (Athenaeus, 3.105b = Speusippus fr. 9 Tarán)²⁴

Use of this very term by Speusippus himself cannot be excluded, even though the testimony about Speusippus is followed closely at 105c–d by quotations of several points from Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, book 5, again about the crustaceans.²⁵ But actually we do not even need the presence of this very term. All that is needed for this kind of taxonomical enterprise is that there is one term for the encompassing class, which includes the different types that are distinguished and enumerated here.

All in all, the meagre evidence we have suggests considerable interest on Speusippus' part in research into natural kinds. Aristotle's silence about this in turn must be motivated by the conviction that his whole metaphysical outlook in general, and also, in particular, the underlying presuppositions of this enterprise are wrong-headed. Someone like Xenocrates is preferable, then, who provides some metaphysical continuity in this enterprise even if his contribution on particular detail may be not so extensive as Speusippus'.

²³ Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν β' Ὁμοίων παραπλήσια εἶναι κήρυκας, πορφύρας, στραβήλους, κόγχους. [...] ἔτι ὁ Σπεύσιππος ἐξῆς πάλιν ἰδίᾳ καταριθμεῖται κόγχους, κτένας, μῦς, πίννας, σωλήνας, καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ μέρει ὄστρεα, λεπάδας. (Fragments and testimonies of Speusippus are cited according to Tarán 1981.)

²⁴ Σπεύσιππος δὲ ἐν β' Ὁμοίων παραπλήσιά φησιν εἶναι τῶν μαλακοστράκων κάραβον, ἀστακόν, νύμφην, ἄρκτον, καρκίνον, πάγουρον.

²⁵ These include: the way some of the crustaceans copulate (549b19–24), the places some of these crustaceans are found (549b13–17) and a closing remark on the longevity of the crayfish (549b28).

9.5

The point of the foregoing, as I have already suggested, was to situate Aristotle's research into natural science in a broader context of similar efforts in the early Academy. As I have argued, at least in the case of Speusippus, we should be ready to allow for a large-scale survey into natural kinds.

If this is so, there should be at least two further consequences: one rather unimportant one, about the skit of Epicrates I started out from, and one for Aristotle himself.

The one about Epicrates is that what this piece of parody depicts may be much closer to the actual practices and presuppositions of the contemporary Academy than Aristophanes' savage comedy about Socrates was.

The other consideration, as I said, is about Aristotle. Granted, he can be less than forthcoming in allotting the actual scope of Speusippus' enquiries into perceptible kinds. Instead, sticking to his guns, he calls attention to what he sees as crucial and incorrigible defects of the enterprise. This is so already with the few passages I have drawn upon here. If the suggestions in the secondary literature were also taken on board, and Aristotle's criticisms of the exclusive use of dichotomous divisions, of allowing for privative terms in these divisions, etc. etc., are levelled against Speusippus, this will be the case to an even larger degree.

But we should keep in mind a critical consideration when we evaluate Aristotle's remarks. No matter how detailed and how exhaustive Speusippus' surveys of similarities and dissimilarities, and perhaps also of differences and identities may have been, what these surveys conclusively lacked was a scientific method of similar depth and elaboration to the one with which Aristotle sets out to account for natural phenomena.

We have no handle on how reason, according to Speusippus, should have been able to cater for an epistemonik perception. But even if Speusippus did have at least a credible story to tell on this score, by opting for mathematics as the key source of insight, he could not possibly mount an explanatory edifice comparable to Aristotelian physics and biology.

Approaches to the Pythagorean Acusmata in the Early Academy

Phillip Sidney Horky*

10.1 Introduction

Since Walter Burkert's monumental *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (1972, originally published in German in 1963), it has been a commonplace for scholars to assume that the Early Academy subsumed and transformed Pythagoreanism in a bid to construct its own philosophical identity.¹ Burkert demonstrated this argument by close comparison of the surviving fragments and testimonies of the Early Platonists Speusippus of Athens, Xenocrates of Chalcedon, Heraclides of Pontus and Eudoxus of Cnidus with the doxographical reports of Aristotle and Theophrastus.² In particular, Burkert argued that Speusippus was the source of Theophrastus' 'non-Aristotelian conception of Pythagorean doctrine' and that Speusippus and Xenocrates had, indeed, met Pythagoreans when they travelled to Sicily with Plato on his third voyage, in 361/60 BCE.³ Most scholars have, in one way or another,

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¹ Burkert arrived at this conclusion by way of a careful analysis of the accounts that associated Pythagorean and Platonic first principles, especially those found in Theophrastus' *Metaphysics*, as well as those that appear to have been derived, at least in some form, from Theophrastus' lost doxographical writings (Burkert 1972: 63–82). Erich Frank had made this conjecture forty years before (cf. Burkert 1972: 63, n. 61, citing Frank 1923: 260). Zhmud (2012: chapter 12) has attempted to refute Burkert's arguments, arguing instead that Plato was seen as 'not a continuer of Pythagoreanism, but a sovereign thinker and organiser of science ... that was how Plato was seen by his faithful pupils' (2012: 420).

² Burkert 1972: 63–82. On the scholarly reception of Burkert's claim, see Zhmud 2012: 424–5.

³ Burkert 1972: 64 and 47 with n. 102, citing Plutarch (*Dio* 22) and Timaeus of Tauromenium (FGrHist 566 F 158).

accepted Burkert's general claim – that the Early Academy is in great part responsible for some strands of the Platonism–Pythagoreanism connection evinced in the doxographical traditions and in Middle and Neoplatonism, where it was taken as assumed that Plato and Aristotle really were Pythagoreans, or at least were incorporating Pythagorean ideas into their core philosophical doctrines.⁴ In that light, we might recall Plato's recurrent use of the famous Pythagorean maxim, 'things are shared among friends' (κοινὰ τὰ φίλων), a principle whose importance for Plato's Academy can be inferred at least circumstantially from the fact that Plato applies it to the philosopher kings' holdings in the *Republic* (423e–424a).⁵ The claim that Pythagoreanism helped shape the philosophy of Plato and the Early Academy has much to recommend it, and the impact of Pythagoreanism (whether real or imaginary) on Plato, Aristotle, the Early Academy and the Lyceum finds some remarkable ancient evidence in Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras* (53):

Καὶ διὰ ταύτην πρωτίστην οὐσίαν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ταύτην συνέβη σβεσθῆναι, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ αἰνιγματῶδες, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα δωριστὶ γεγράφθαι, ἐχούσης τι καὶ ἀσαφὲς τῆς διαλέκτου, καὶ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο ὑπονοεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀνιστορούμενα δόγματα ὡς νόθα καὶ παρηκουσμένα τῷ μὴ ἀντικρυς Πυθαγορικούς εἶναι τοὺς ἐκφέροντας ταῦτα. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη Σπεύσιππὸν τε καὶ Ἀριστόξενον καὶ Ξενοκράτη, ὧς φασιν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, τὰ μὲν κάρπιμα σφετερίσασθαι διὰ βραχείας ἐπισκευῆς, τὰ δ' ἐπιπόλαια καὶ ἐλαφρὰ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἀνασκευὴν καὶ χλευασμὸν τοῦ

⁴ Cf. Horky 2013a: chapters 4–6; Riedweg 2005: 116–19; and Kahn 2001: 63–6. In Horky 2013b, I challenged Burkert's more particular claim by arguing that it was *Xenocrates*, and not Speusippus, whose works Theophrastus was criticizing when he described the first principles of 'Plato and the Pythagoreans' as the 'Indefinite Dyad' and the 'One'.

⁵ Also see *R.* 416d–417a and 449c–450a. For Plato, the same proverb also occurs at *Ly.* 207c, *Phdr.* 279c, and *Lg.* 793a–740c. Most sources from Timaeus of Tauromenium forward confirm that the proverb was used first by Pythagoras (FGrHist 566 F 13a and F 13b; Phot. *s.v.* κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων; Zen. 4.79; Diogenian. 5.76). Clearchus, however, attributes it to the Delphic Oracle. For a good historiographical analysis, see Baron 2013: 144–8. It is at least notable that the actual fragments of Timaeus himself do not quote the famous proverb: instead, as Timaeus narrates, when some young men approached and asked to spend time with him, Pythagoras responded by saying, 'it is necessary, too, that the property/essences of those who are admitted be shared' (δεῖν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας κοινὰς εἶναι τῶν ἐντυχαντόνων). Thereafter, so the story goes, the students would be required to remain quiet for a five-year period, before being fully admitted to the 'household' (οἰκία). A straightforward reading would suggest that Pythagoras was demanding that they contribute financially to the shared pot, but a more philosophical/pedagogic reading would suggest that he required them to be tested before actually being able to share their 'essences' (in the sense of συνουσία). If Plato knew this story, he would no doubt be able to appeal to either sense. Regardless, it should be noted that the direct quotation of Timaeus takes the form of an *acusma* that answers the question, 'what ought to be done?' (τί πρακτέον;). On this type of *acusma*, see below.

διδασκαλείου ὑπὸ τῶν βασκάνως ὕστερον συκοφαντούντων
προβάλλεται συναγαγεῖν καὶ ὡς ἴδια τῆς αἰρέσεως καταχωρίσαι.

And, on account of this chiefly, their [*sc.* the early Pythagoreans'] philosophy happened to die out – first because it was enigmatic, and next because their writings were in Doric (and it is a dialect that is somewhat obscure) – and, in fact, this is why the recorded doctrines in Doric were suspected of being spurious and misunderstood, due to the fact that those who published them were not Pythagoreans strictly speaking. In addition to these, as the 'Pythagoreans' say, Plato and Aristotle, and Speusippus, Aristoxenus, and Xenocrates, appropriated what was fruitful, with minor revisions; but what was superficial or inconsequential, and everything that was advanced for refutation and mockery of the school by the malicious slanderers later on, they collected and recorded as the particular doctrines of the sect. (Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 53 = Xenocrates T 91 IP² = Speusippus F 79 IP)

Porphyry's text describes two sorts of reception of early Pythagoreanism by certain members of the Early Academy and the Lyceum: first, the founders Plato and Aristotle (they are marked out as distinctively connected here),⁶ followed by the members of their 'schools', Speusippus, Aristoxenus and Xenocrates, are said to appropriate (σφετερίσασθαι) what was 'fruitful' (κάρπιμα) from the Doric Pythagorean texts into their own philosophical works 'with minor revisions' (διὰ βραχείας ἐπισκευῆς); and secondly, they are said to collect the 'superficial and inconsequential' (τὰ ἐπιπόλαια καὶ ἐλαφρά) parts of the texts and present these materials as the distinctive *doctrines* of the Pythagoreans, quite likely in their doxographical works.⁷ This text is furthermore remarkable for assuming that certain members of the Early Academy and Lyceum – some important figures are of course missing here⁸ – had *the same critical approach* to the texts of the early Pythagoreans, integrating the best stuff into their own writings (presumably without marking it as 'Pythagorean'), and relegating what was less interesting or significant to doxographical works, presumably for dialectical purposes.

To what extent does this fascinating, if puzzling,⁹ account correspond to our knowledge of the activities of the figures listed here, or of those

⁶ Note the grammatical progression καὶ ... τε καὶ ... καὶ.

⁷ All figures here except Plato wrote doxographical works on the Pythagoreans. See Dillon 2014, on the Early Academy, and Huffman 2014b, on the Peripatetics.

⁸ Notably, among figures known to have written about Pythagoreanism and perhaps even integrated into their own philosophical works Pythagorean ideas, Theophrastus, Eudemus of Rhodes, Heraclides of Pontus, Eudoxus of Cnidus and Meno.

⁹ Of especial difficulty is identifying the source of Porphyry's materials here, the 'Pythagoreans' – possibilities would include Nicomachus of Gerasa and Moderatus of Gades.

attached to the Early Academy and Lyceum? I have sought to investigate elsewhere the extent to which Plato, and Speusippus and Xenocrates (the first scholars in the Academy after him), appropriated early Pythagorean philosophy (especially in terms of metaphysics, epistemology and physics) to their own works.¹⁰ For this essay, then, I would like to examine the claims made in the second part of Porphyry's passage in the context of what we know about *dialectical* use of Pythagoreanism within the Early Academy. I will seek to illuminate how three figures associated with the Early Academy – Xenocrates of Chalcedon, Heraclides of Pontus and Eudoxus of Cnidus¹¹ – reacted to what is often considered the bedrock of early Pythagorean ethics, the *acusmata* (also called *symbola*), that is, the question-and-answer precepts apparently handed down by Pythagoras.¹² One difficulty with this project is that it requires us to establish a context for critical approaches to the Pythagorean *acusmata*, since that remains difficult to articulate as well. Hence, I will start by discussing Anaximander the Younger and Aristotle's responses to the Pythagorean *acusmata*, in order to provide a broader context for the intellectual activities of Xenocrates, Heraclides and Eudoxus, in their approaches to Pythagorean ethics.¹³

10.2 Rationalizing Approaches to the Pythagorean *Acusmata*: Anaximander the Younger of Miletus and Aristotle

Our earliest secure evidence for critical reaction to the Pythagorean *acusmata* relates to the activities of a shadowy figure named Anaximander the Younger of Miletus, whose *floruit* is usually dated around 400 BCE.¹⁴ With Anaximander the Younger, we have an intriguing attempt to *collect* the Pythagorean *acusmata* later classified by Aristotle as those which answered the question 'what ought to be done?' (τί πράκτέον;) and to

¹⁰ In Horky 2013a, especially chapters 2 (Speusippus' metaphysics) and 4–6 (Plato's metaphysics, number theory and physics) and in Horky 2013b (Xenocrates' metaphysics). One would also do well to consult John Dillon's recent comprehensive discussion of Platonist–Pythagorean metaphysics and mathematics (Dillon 2014).

¹¹ These figures are selected because of the fact that evidence of their reception of Pythagorean ethics, as rooted in the *acusmata*, is either explicit or can be reasonably inferred from surviving evidence. One would of course imagine that Speusippus knew and reacted to the *acusmata*, but I have not been able to find any explicit evidence of this.

¹² Pace Zhmud (2012: 169 ff.), I will follow the modern scholarly tradition by referring to those questions that answer the questions 'what is?', 'what is to the greatest degree?', and 'what ought to be done?' as *acusmata*, although it is certainly possible that they were, in their earliest presentation, called *symbola*.

¹³ We must be clear that it cannot be concluded whether Aristotle's philosophical approach to Pythagoreanism was earlier than, or contemporary with, or later than Xenocrates'. Either way, Anaximander the Younger's response to the *acusmata* clearly precedes both. See below.

¹⁴ Cf. Burkert 1972: 166 with n. 2–3.

provide some sort of explanation of their content.¹⁵ Our primary evidence is slim, but very important:

ἔγραψε Συμβόλων Πυθαγορείων Ἐξηγησιν. οἷόν ἐστι τὸ ‘ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν’· ‘μαχαίραι πῦρ μὴ σκαλεύειν’· ἀπὸ ὀλοκλήρου ἄρτου μὴ ἐσθίειν’· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ.

[Anaximander the Younger] wrote an *Explanation of the Pythagorean Symbols*, of which some examples are, ‘do not overstep the yoke’, ‘do not poke fire with a knife’, ‘do not eat a loaf of bread whole’. (FGrHist 9 T 1 = Suid. s.v. Ἀναξίμανδρος Ἀναξίμανδρου)

What we hear from Xenophon (*Smp.* 3.6 = FGrHist 9 T 3) is that this Anaximander the Younger was a rhapsode who, somewhat after the mode of Stesimbrotus of Thasus, engaged in exegesis of Homer’s poems for a fee.¹⁶ In Plato’s *Ion* (530c1–6), the ideal rhapsode’s exegesis takes the form of being an ‘interpreter’ (ἐρμηνεύς) of the ‘intention’ (διάνοια) of Homer, a description to which I will return.¹⁷ We might wonder: was Anaximander’s approach to explaining the Pythagorean *acusmata* rhapsodic? We should be doubtful: there is no hard evidence that Anaximander the Younger engaged in exegesis of Homeric *lemmata*, characters etc., in the ways that figures like Stesimbrotus and Theagenes of Rhegium appear to have done; and the ‘explanations’ that do survive for the three *acusmata* treated by Anaximander the Younger are rather more pragmatic in effect: a) ‘do not overstep the yoke’ is explained by Diogenes Laertius (8.18) as ‘don’t overstep the boundaries of equality and justice’; likewise b) ‘do not poke fire with a knife’ is interpreted by Diogenes (ibid.) as ‘do not provoke the anger of great men’; and c) ‘do not eat a loaf of bread whole’ is interpreted by Hippolytus of Rome (*Refutatio* 6.27.5) as ‘do not lose your possessions, but live on the profit they offer, and preserve your possessions as a whole loaf’.¹⁸

¹⁵ So Laks 2014: 376–7, who believes that Iamblichus’ reference (*VP* 86) to some people who add explanations to the *acusmata* refers specifically to Anaximander the Younger. For a broader take on the intended referents, which could also include Anaximander, see Horky 2013a: 10–13.

¹⁶ In this vein, it is interesting to note that Balthussen (2007: 252) confuses Anaximander the Younger with Stesimbrotus.

¹⁷ On these terms and their meanings, see especially Węcowski 2012 and Nagy 2002: 29–30.

¹⁸ It is not necessary to assume that Diogenes and Hippolytus have preserved Anaximander’s explanations, but it is notable at least in the case of Diogenes that he lists the precepts by calling them ‘symbols’ (8.17: τὰ σύμβολα τὰδε), the term used by Anaximander, rather than the Aristotelian *acusmata*. Zhmud speculates that the mysterious Androcydes is the source here, but without argument (2012: 72, n. 50). Note also that Porphyry (*VP* 42) preserves slightly different explanations for a) and b): a) means ‘do not be voracious’, and b) means ‘do not excite a man swelling with rage with sharp language’. Iamblichus exhibits far more detailed explanations for a) (*Protr.* 21.114.20–8 Pistelli) and b) (*Protr.* 21.112.24–113.7 Pistelli), and hints at even more vividly philosophical interpretations in his lost *On the Symbols* (cf. *Protr.* 21.112.2–8 Pistelli). Explanation for c) only appears in Hippolytus, and this led Delatte (1915: 286) to suspect that Hippolytus and Suidas had Anaximander the Younger, whereas other collections (such as that of Porphyry) came from the Androcydes tradition.

With this in mind, we might reconsider the significance of the epithet most commonly assigned to Anaximander the Younger by later sources, namely 'historian' (ἱστορικός).¹⁹ As Marek Węcowski has persuasively argued, the *Heroologia* of Anaximander (FGrHist 9 F 1 and probably F 2) exhibits the qualities of an Ionian historian like Hecataeus of Miletus, that is, it imitates Hecataeus in its use of paratactic stylisms and archaic expression, and takes as its subject matter genealogies.²⁰ With Anaximander the Younger's *Explanation of Pythagorean Symbols*, then, I suspect we are better served to imagine a 'historical' work of the sort associated with his contemporary Hippias of Elis and, later on, Aristotle himself.²¹ In a tantalizing surviving fragment, Hippias claims to have 'collect[ed] the most important things [said(?)]' (τὰ μέγιστα [λεγόμενα(?)] συνθεῖς) that he found in the sayings of Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, Homer, as well as other prose writers and poets, both Greek and non-Greek, which he considered 'kindred' (ὁμόφυλα).²² This word suggests, I think, a rather encyclopedic activity of classification of ideas according to similar type.²³ If we return to Anaximander with this intellectual context for the selection and organization of prior knowledge, we can imagine the possibility that the activity of collecting the enigmatic Pythagorean 'what ought to be done?' (τί πρακτέον;) *acusmata*, would correspond well to Hippias' own historiographical practice, viz. the selection and classification of 'most important things' to be found in the sayings and writings of exemplars of wisdom such as Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod and Homer. To apply a bald

¹⁹ FGrHist 9 T 1 (Suid.) and T 2 (D.L. 2.2).

²⁰ Węcowski 2012.

²¹ Important here is the notion that ἐξηγησις and the verb related to it, ἐξηγήσασθαι, have a rather wide semantic range in the second half of the fifth century BCE. For Thucydides (1.72), the abstract noun is contrasted with ὑπόμνησις (recollection) and refers quite simply to new information to be explained to someone lacking knowledge of it (cf. the intellectual activity of Themistocles at 1.138). Herodotus, who does not use the nominal form, employs the verbal construction somewhat frequently, with meanings including: a) 'divulge how to do something' (6.135, by reference to the traitorous activity of the under-priestess of the Parians, who told (ἐξηγησαμένη) their enemies how to bring about their ruin, and who *additionally* is said to have revealed the mysteries (ἄρρητα ἰρὰ ἐκφύνασσα) to Miltiades); b) 'depict' (1.36, viz. probably Hecataeus of Miletus' map of the known world); and c) 'set out in detail' an argument (9.122). But also see Owen's compelling suggestion (1975: 163, n. 6) that someone in the tradition has confused Zeno of Elea with the Stoic Zeno of Citium.

²² FGrHist 6 F 4 = Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.15.1–2 = DK 86 B 6. One wonders if this activity might have been anticipated, in some way, by Pythagoras' production of 'a wisdom of his own' (ἐαυτοῦ σοφίη) by way of 'selecting those writings' (ἐκλεξάμενος ταύτας τὰς συγγραφάς) in his practice of *historia*, as Heraclitus seems to have alleged (DK 22 B 129).

²³ The same term was used by Hippias' contemporary, the Pythagorean Philolaus of Croton, in reference to the dissimilarity of the ἀρχαί of the universe (F 6 Huffman), as well as by Theophrastus (DK 68 A 135.50), in reference to Democritus' principle of 'like knowing like'. See Huffman 1993: 138.

anachronism from Aristotle a half century later, we might thus describe Anaximander the Younger's approach to the Pythagoreans as *dialectical*, in the sense that it undertook a *basic classification* of the received tenets of the Pythagoreans and *developed critical responses* to them accordingly.²⁴

Following in the footsteps of Anaximander the Younger is Aristotle, who can be safely credited with further elaboration in the methods of classification of and response to the Pythagorean *acusmata*; both, as we will see, employ procedures that are of a piece with that of Xenocrates. While Anaximander the Younger focuses on prohibitions only in his reaction to the Pythagorean *acusmata*, Aristotle establishes and differentiates *three* classes of *acusmata* which answer three different questions: a) 'what is?' (τί ἐστί;), b) 'what is to the greatest degree?' (τί μάλιστα;), and c) 'what ought to be done?' (τί πρακτέον;).²⁵ In *On the Pythagorean Life* 82–3, we see Iamblichus of Chalcis' restatement of Aristotle's division of the *acusmata*, likely taken from Aristotle's lost works on the Pythagoreans:²⁶

The philosophy of the *acusmatici* consists of *acusmata* undemonstrated, i.e. lacking a rationale, e.g. 'one ought to do in this way'; and other *acusmata*, as many as were said by that man [*sc.* Pythagoras], these they [*sc.* the *acusmatici*] attempt to preserve as the divine doctrines. Neither do they pretend to be speaking for themselves, nor ought one do so, but even among themselves they suppose that those who grasp the most *acusmata* are best situated in regard to practical wisdom. And these so-called '*acusmata*' are distinguished into three kinds: some signify 'what is', others 'what is to the greatest degree', and others 'what ought or ought not to be done'. Those that signify 'what is' are of this sort: 'what are the islands of the blessed? Sun and moon'; 'what is the oracle at Delphi? The *tetraktys* (which is the harmony in which the sirens exist).' ... [list of 'what is?' *acusmata*] ... Those [that signify] 'what is to the greatest degree' are, e.g., 'what is most just? To sacrifice'; 'what is wisest? Number' ... [list of 'what is to the greatest degree?' *acusmata*] ... These and similar things are the *acusmata* of this kind; for each of them signifies what is to the greatest degree. And this [*sc.* philosophy] is the same as that which is called the wisdom of the Seven Sages. For they too sought not what is the good, but what is good to the greatest degree; not what is difficult, but what is most difficult (e.g. to know oneself); not what is easy, but what is easiest (e.g. to indulge in habit) ... [insertion by Iamblichus?] ... Those *acusmata* which signify 'what ought or ought not to be done' were of this sort: 'one ought to beget children?' (for it is necessary to leave behind people to serve god) ... etc.

²⁴ Cf. Arist. *Top.* 1.1, 100a1–30. If my reading is right, it might help us at least in a limited way to speculate further about the contents of the mysterious *Explanation of the Verses of Empedocles* (Ἐξηγήσεις τῶν Ἐμπεδοκλέους), ascribed by Suidas (*s.v.* Ζήνων Τελευταγόρου = DK 29 A 2) to the person whom Aristotle considered the founder of dialectic, Zeno of Elea.

²⁵ On the *acusmata* and the various ways of explaining them, also see Horky 2013a: 8–13.

²⁶ On this passage, also see Horky 2013a: 11, n. 27 and 18.

I suggest that Aristotle's approach to the Pythagorean *acusmata* in the lost works on the Pythagoreans, and preserved in some form here by Iamblichus, cannot be isolated from his broader commitment to employing the accepted thoughts of wise or reputable people (*endoxa*) as data in dialectical investigations.²⁷ As we have seen, in the lost works on the Pythagoreans, Aristotle appears to have classified the various question/answer pairs provided by the *acusmata* under topical headings, elsewhere in Aristotle's *Topics* (I.14, 105b19–25) described as organized by distinct proposition (*πρότασις*): *logical* propositions like, 'is knowledge of contraries the same or not?'; *scientific* propositions like, 'is the universe eternal or not?'; and *ethical* propositions like, 'should one obey parents rather than laws, if they are at variance?'.²⁸ The three groupings we find in the lost works on the Pythagoreans do not, at first glance, easily map onto the three types of propositions given in *Topics*, but it is worth pursuing further investigation of this relationship.²⁹

In terms of the wording of the *questions* themselves, Aristotle's dialectical propositions are not open-ended: they only admit of affirmation or denial, i.e. 'yes' or 'no' responses, by contrast with the Pythagorean questions, which would be, in Aristotle's mind, universal, but not dialectical, since they have not been properly formulated in accordance with preliminary distinctions.³⁰ One example of such an improperly dialectical question is 'what is a human being?' (τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος;), a question that was taken up as a common trope by 'mathematical' Pythagoreans from Epicharmus to Plato.³¹ In terms of content, there is reason for comparison between the schemata of the Pythagorean *acusmata* and Aristotle's tripartite division of dialectical propositions. Now it is quite obvious that the third class, c), of Pythagorean *acusmata*, 'what ought to be done?', which was also recorded by Anaximander the Younger, is strongly related to the third type of dialectical proposition in Aristotle's *Topics*, namely

²⁷ Cf. Mansfeld 1990: 28–45 and, more recently, Barney 2012.

²⁸ I do not wish to commit myself to the debate concerning the meaning of *protasis* in Aristotle, except to say that in a pre-dialectical context of the sort presented in *Topics* I.14, it is not clear that Aristotle means to use the questions called *protaseis* as premises within a syllogistic argument. *Contra* e.g. Mansfeld (1990: 25), I have opted for the looser 'proposition' here, partially in the light of the conclusions of Crivelli and Charles (2011), and partly because Aristotle explicitly identifies a *dialectical protasis* (πρότασις διαλεκτική) as an 'opinion-based question' (ἐρώτησις ἐνδοξος) held by everyone or the majority or the wise ... which is not paradoxical' (*Top.* I.10, 104a9–11).

²⁹ This tripartite division anticipates a similar division of philosophy under the Stoics, but, as Smith has argued (1997: 90–2), we should be cautious in assuming that the Stoic understanding of this schema is the same as Aristotle's.

³⁰ Arist. *Top.* 8.2, 158a14–24.

³¹ Horky 2013a: chapters 4–5.

that which asks *ethical* questions. But the other two types of propositions do not map onto the classes of Pythagorean *acusmata* as easily. Aristotle claims that what differentiates the class of *logical* propositions is that it concerns itself with whether something can be said to be *the same or different* from other things. Earlier on in the *Topics*, in fact (1.5, 101b37–102a14), Aristotle had referred to these sorts of questions as falling under the predicable of definition, because they constitute statements which signify the essence (τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι σημαίνων) of something.³² For Aristotle, the question ‘is something the same or different?’ is thus a periphrastic version of the question ‘what is *x*?’, which Aristotle considers insufficient for dialectical purposes. So, like class c), class a) from Aristotle’s organization of the Pythagorean *acusmata* does in fact correspond with Aristotle’s basic classification of dialectical propositions in the *Topics*. The relationship between the second class, b), which encompasses questions of ‘what is to the greatest degree?’, and the scientific class of propositions is less clear-cut, in part because, to my knowledge, Aristotle nowhere *explicitly* describes the propositions which deal with natural science except here.³³ The example given is ‘is the universe eternal or not?’, a proposition that, with regard to time, might be thought to deal with degree in the superlative (just as the τί μάλιστα; questions do).³⁴ It would be helpful to see other examples of such scientific dialectical propositions in Aristotle’s work.³⁵

Be that as it may, we can advance some tentative conclusions about Aristotle’s method of recording the particular doctrines of the Pythagoreans. In particular, he seems to have followed Anaximander the Younger in collecting the *acusmata*, but he went further by differentiating

³² The specific question elicited for example is ‘are perception and knowledge the same or different?’ Note that the same verb, σημαίνειν, is used in the passage from Iamblichus’ *On the Life of Pythagoras* that seems to arise from Aristotle’s lost works on the Pythagoreans.

³³ He has (at *Top.* 1.10, 104b1–17) discussed scientific *problems*, which are similar to propositions, as those which are ‘directed towards knowledge’ (πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι), by reference to the problem of the nature of the universe, whether it is eternal or not. He goes on to describe such problems as those which people consider ‘difficult to assign a reason why’ (χαλεπὸν τὸ διὰ τί ἀποδοῦναι). For whatever it is worth, Alexander (in *Top.* 1.14, p. 94.5–6 Wallies) takes physical propositions to be those which ‘contribute to discernment and truth’ (cf. *Top.* 1.10, 104b1 ff.) on the grounds that ‘all the [problems] of nature in themselves have the most authoritative reference to discernment of the truth’. He also comments later on (in *Top.* 1.14, p. 95.5–7 Wallies): ‘we will refer to scientific propositions as those about increase, movement, coming-to-be, and passing away’. Smith suggests (1997: 92) that Alexander interprets this passage ‘against the background of a much later controversy about the place of logic in philosophy’.

³⁴ For Aristotle’s arguments on the eternity of the universe, see Wildberg 1987: 12–15.

³⁵ Alexander (in *Top.* 1.11, p. 76.1–2 Wallies) identifies three other scientific problems, which are ‘is the world unlimited or not?’, ‘is it spherical or not?’, ‘is the soul immortal or not?’.

three classes that, generally speaking, reflect his own division of dialectical propositions into logical, scientific and ethical types. We might profitably relate Aristotle's approach to the collection and basic classification of the *acusmata* more broadly to his dialectical approach to the reputable opinions of his antecedents elsewhere: in *Metaphysics*, *Meteorologica*, *On the Heavens*, *Physics*, *Posterior Analytics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle's use of Pythagorean *endoxa* is chiefly dialectical and involves appropriation of Pythagorean concepts in a way that does not obviously differ from his treatment of other antecedents and competitors whose doctrines are accepted by persons of repute, spanning Thales to Xenocrates.³⁶ In the evidence he collected concerning the Pythagorean sayings, however, Aristotle found a tripartite classification that could be thought to anticipate his own division of propositions and problems in the *Topics*. Was the division original to the Pythagoreans? This, I think, must remain doubtful; rather, it probably derives from other collections of wisdom-sayings, such as those that might have been available in the writings of Anaximander the Younger of Miletus, who collected and probably provided explanations of the 'what ought to be done' *acusmata*, and Hippias of Elis, who expressly set out to develop a comparative classificatory scheme for the 'most important' sayings and writings of the famous Greeks and barbarians, according to similarity in kind.³⁷

10.3 Xenocrates' Rationalizing Approach to Pythagorean Ethics

The Early Academy's response to Pythagoreanism can be summed up in the words of Leonid Zhmud:

The Platonists were characterized by a *benevolent attitude to* Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans and an *interest in* their scientific, philosophical, and religious theories ... The Platonists *reacted*, not to a common Pythagorean doctrine, but *to various theories of Pythagoras and his successors*: Philolaus, Archytas, Ecphantus and Hicetas, et al. Speusippus *relied on* the mathematics of the Pythagoreans; Heraclides on their astronomy (developing at the same time the legendary tradition on Pythagoras); Xenocrates evidently *made use of* harmonics ...³⁸

³⁶ Unfortunately, I do not have space to justify this argument in detail here. For now, however, the reader would be well served by Zhmud (2012: 433–52).

³⁷ We should not count out the possibility that those sayings of the Seven Sages considered to fall under the class of *τί μάλιστα*; might have been collected as well, as Iamblichus (above) suggests.

³⁸ Zhmud 2012: 431–2. Italics mine.

Much ink has been spilled on the possibility that Speusippus had undertaken to formalize Pythagorean numerology and draw it up alongside his own metaphysical schemes; similarly, there is a robust scholarly tradition that sees Speusippus as advocating for a version of Pythagorean abstention from pleasure, a topic that I find fascinating, if ultimately impossible to weigh in on.³⁹ Scholarly assessments of Heraclides' role in the development of the legendary tradition concerning Pythagoras as the inventor of the term 'philosophy' are not lacking in the critical literature either, and, while I will turn to discuss Heraclides' response to Pythagorean ethics later in this paper, I will do so chiefly to understand how Pythagoras came to be associated with contemplation.⁴⁰ About reactions in the Early Academy to Pythagorean ethics as preserved in the *acusmata*, almost nothing has been written, and I will thus devote a substantial portion of what remains to this issue.⁴¹

As we have seen with Aristotle above, developing a dialectical format for the history of philosophy seems to require some rules to be set down, especially rules regarding the proper classification of the diverse objects of philosophical enquiry. Perhaps surprisingly, it is Xenocrates who was considered to have originated the division of philosophy into three parts, and, in the light of what has been said up to this point, it seems worth looking a bit more closely at this testimony, as preserved by Sextus Empiricus:

These thinkers [*sc.* those who hold that philosophy has one or two parts], however, seem to have handled the question deficiently and, in comparison with them, those who say that a part of philosophy is physics, another ethics, and another logic, [*seem to have handled the question*] more completely. Of these, Plato is a pioneer, [*at least*] potentially, as he produced many discussions on many issues of physics and ethics, and not a few on logic; but those associated with Xenocrates, as well as those [*who come*] from the Peripatus and those too from the Stoa, adopt this division most expressly. (Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians* 1.16 = Xenocrates F 1 IP²)

Sextus' Hellenistic source, whoever it might have been⁴², is explicit in claiming that Plato was only a 'pioneer' (ἀρχηγός) of the division of

³⁹ On Speusippus and Pythagoreanism, see especially Tarán 1981: 257–98 and Dillon 2014: 250–3. For Speusippus' anti-hedonism, see especially Dillon 2003: 67–77 and Schofield 1971.

⁴⁰ On Heraclides and Pythagoreanism, see Kahn 2001: 66–8, Riedweg 2005: 91–7, and Dillon 2014: 257–60. But also see the critical discussion of Zhmud 2013.

⁴¹ On Xenocrates and Pythagorean ethics, we now have Dillon 2014: 257. Huffman (2008: 294–5) has briefly discussed Eudoxus and Pythagorean ethics.

⁴² Sotion has just been cited in the previous sentence as the authority behind the claim that the Cyrenaics thought that ethics and logic are parts of philosophy. Is Sotion Sextus' immediate source?

philosophy into three parts ‘potentially’ (δυνάμει), whereas Xenocrates is listed first as the figure who adopted the division ‘most expressly’ (ῥητότατα), followed by the Peripatetics and the Stoics.⁴³ If Xenocrates indeed was the first to fix this division of philosophy,⁴⁴ then we are faced with two interesting historical dilemmas: a) was Aristotle adopting Xenocrates’ division of philosophy when he classified dialectical propositions according to logic, natural science and ethics? And b) did Xenocrates, like Aristotle, know about and attempt to classify and/or respond critically to the Pythagorean *acusmata*? The first question is virtually impossible to answer, although it is suggestive that Aristotle’s most extensive analysis of dialectical practice in philosophy, the *Topics*, often attacks Xenocrates’ approaches to definition, by way of challenging his definitions of ‘soul’, ‘practical wisdom’ (φρόνησις), and ‘happy’.⁴⁵ The second question, however, offers further room for investigation and, as we will see, some plausible speculation.

Diogenes Laertius preserves the titles of several works that might have contained Xenocrates’ critical responses to Pythagoreanism, among which are *Pythagoreia* (*Things Pythagorean*), *On Numbers*,⁴⁶ *On Geometry*,⁴⁷ *On Intervals*⁴⁸ and *On Sciences*.⁴⁹ Nobody knows what those works looked like. Moreover, it is rather difficult to pinpoint exactly where Xenocrates’ critical response to the *acusmata* might have been located, although one wonders, with Carl Huffman, whether the work entitled *Pythagoreia* may have been prominent in the Early Academy’s and the Lyceum’s responses to the *acusmata*.⁵⁰ In fact, there is no *explicit* evidence (at least that I can find) of knowledge of the Pythagorean *acusmata* in Xenocrates’ fragments.⁵¹ Even so, as we will see, there exists circumstantial evidence that

⁴³ Cf. Dillon 2003: 98; *contra* Zhmud 2012: 422 ff.

⁴⁴ As Dillon, following Isnardi Parente, argues, Cicero’s claim (*Acad.* 1.19, derived from Antiochus?) that the ‘threefold scheme of philosophy’ (*philosophandi ratio triplex*), which broadly speaking conformed to ethics, physics and logic, was already in existence before Xenocrates might be thought to come from Xenocrates’ work *On Philosophy*.

⁴⁵ ‘Soul’: *Top.* 6.3, 140b2–3 = F 89 IP² and 3.6, 120b3–5 = F 87 IP²; ‘practical wisdom’: 6.3, 141a6–8 = F 3 IP²; ‘happy’: 2.6, 112a32–7 = F 154 IP²; 7.1, 152a5–10 = F 158 IP². On the latter two definitions in the philosophy of Xenocrates, see Horky 2018: 42–3.

⁴⁶ Possibly another text, entitled the *Theory of Numbers*, was the same as this text.

⁴⁷ Another title, *On Geometers*, might be for the same work.

⁴⁸ Zhmud (2013: 329–30) sees the reference to Pythagoras’ discovery of the numerical expression of concords given in F 6 IP².

⁴⁹ D.L. 4.13–14 = T 2 IP².

⁵⁰ Huffman 2014: 274, n. 1.

⁵¹ This is all the more surprising, given the fact that Plato seems to have known and responded to at least the *acusmata* that refer to wisdom: ‘what is second wisest? What assigned names to things’ and ‘what is wisest? Number’ (Iambl. *VP* 82, probably from Aristotle). See Horky 2013a: ch. 4 and 5.

suggests the importance of the exegetical project associated with explaining the Pythagorean *acusmata* as associated with Anaximander the Younger above.⁵²

There is good evidence that Xenocrates, like Anaximander the Younger, did attempt to provide pragmatic explanations of the wisdom-sayings, similar to the Pythagorean *acusmata*, of the mythical lawgiver and culture hero Triptolemus at Eleusis:⁵³

They say that Triptolemus laid down laws for the Athenians, and of his precepts the philosopher Xenocrates says that the following three still remain in force at Eleusis: 'Honour thy parents'; 'Offer first-fruits to the gods'; and 'Do no harm to animals' (ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι). Well, then, the first two he [*sc.* Xenocrates] considers to have been handed down excellently: for we ought to do well in return unto our parents to the best of our ability, as they are our benefactors; and we ought to offer first-fruits to the gods, by whom first-fruits were given for our livelihood. But regarding the third precept he raises the question, 'what did Triptolemus intend when he enjoined abstinence from animals (τί ποτε διανοηθεῖς ὁ Τριπτόλεμος παρήγγειλεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ζώων)? Did he simply consider,' he says, 'that it would be a terrible thing to kill one's kindred (πότερον γάρ, φησίν, ὅλως οἰόμενος εἶναι δεινὸν τὸ ὁμογενὲς κτείνειν), or did he rather observe that it happens that they are killed by men because they are the most useful of living things for nourishment (χρησιμώτατα τῶν ζώων εἰς τροφήν)? So it would be through wishing to render his life civilized (βουλόμενον οὖν ἡμερον ποιῆσαι τὸν βίον πειραθῆναι) that he tried to preserve those animals which were domesticated and the companions of men. Unless perhaps, assuming that we should honour the gods through an offering of first-fruits, he thought that this prerogative would be better preserved if animal sacrifices were not offered to the gods.' Xenocrates gives many other reasons for this precept, none of them very precise (πολλὰς δὲ αἰτίας τοῦ Ξενοκράτους καὶ ἄλλας οὐ πάντ' ἀκριβεῖς ἀποδιδόντος), but it is sufficient for our purpose to note that this precept was legislated by Triptolemus. (Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 4.22.2–5 = Xenocrates F 170 IP²)

This testimony, I suggest, helps us to investigate possible Pythagoreanizing behaviours in the ethical philosophy associated with the Early Academy.

⁵² Also see Dillon 2014: 257, where he says of the following passage '[i]n the sphere of ethics, the only feature of Xenocrates' position which exhibits a specifically Pythagorean quality is his approval of vegetarianism'.

⁵³ The immediate source here is Hermippus of Smyrna, and Porphyry claims to quote from the second book of *On the Legislators* (FGrHist 1026 F 4), a work which also featured Pythagoras as a 'lawgiver', i.e., someone who handed down precepts (FGrHist 1026 F 1). On νομοί as 'precepts' rather than 'laws' in a strict sense, see Bollansée 2012. On Triptolemus and his role in the cult at Eleusis, see Clinton 2010: 347–8.

We see that Xenocrates has listed three ‘precepts’ (νομοί) handed down by Triptolemus that are still in effect in Eleusis and then evaluates their content by way of philosophical explanation. In particular, we note that he explains the excellence of the first two precepts of Triptolemus through appeal to the principle of reciprocal benefaction, which was treated extensively by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* under the rubric of ‘friendship’, and for which we have a title of a work by Xenocrates, called *On Benefaction* (Περὶ ὠφελιμίου).⁵⁴ But the third precept, which prescribes against killing animals, receives an extensive commentary by Xenocrates. First, he raises an *aporia* about – and this is of special significance – the ‘intention’ (διανοηθεῖς) of Triptolemus. He then speculates further about the possible reasons (they are called αἰτίαι by Porphyry) why Triptolemus applied this precept, the first of which appeals to the possibility of recognizing animals as kindred to humans (ὁμογενές); and the second of which focuses on the proper way of civilizing the ‘way of life’/‘livelihood’ (βίος) of humans. Now both of these arguments are also associated with Pythagoras elsewhere in the fourth century BCE. The latter ‘way of life’ is ubiquitous in the ancient tradition, tracing back as far as Plato (*R.* 10, 600a8–b4), and receiving elaborate treatment from many critics thereafter.⁵⁵ The former rationale, involving the kindred relations between humans and other animals, is ascribed by Iamblichus to Pythagoras:

And he [*sc.* Pythagoras] ordered lawgivers of communities to abstain from [killing/injuring?]⁵⁶ living beings; for since they wished to act completely in justice, it was necessary, surely, not to injure kindred animals (ἔδει δὴπου μὴδὲν ἀδικεῖν τῶν συγγενῶν ζώων), since how could they persuade others to behave justly if they themselves be caught in the pursuit of a greater share? There is a congenital partnership of living beings (συγγενικὴ δ’ ἡ τῶν ζώων μετοχή), since, through sharing life and the same elements and the mixture arising from these, they are yoked together with us by brotherhood, as it were. (Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life* 108 = DK 31 A 135; transl. after Dillon and Hershbell)

Iamblichus’ argument here resembles a statement from the Peripatetic Dicaearchus of Messana, of roughly the same generation as Xenocrates, who noted that a *commonly known* (μάλιστα γνώριμα) precept of Pythagoras was ‘one ought to believe that all things born alive belong to the same family’ (πάντα τὰ γινόμενα ἔμψυχα ὁμογενῇ δεῖ νομίζειν) –

⁵⁴ On benefaction in the writings of the Peripatetics, see Horky 2011: 127–36.

⁵⁵ On the Pythagorean βίος in Plato’s writings, see Horky 2013a: 97–9. The richness of this topic is too overwhelming for any single study, but generally see Burkert 1982.

⁵⁶ The phrasing is slightly ambiguous: ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐμψυχῶν. It is the exact same phrase used by Eudoxus (F 325 Lasserre) – see below.

ostensibly a τί πράκτέον; *acusma* which provides further elaboration of Pythagoras' other famous claims, that the soul is immortal, and that it undergoes metempsychosis.⁵⁷ Dialectically, then, Xenocrates pursues a mode of explanation of the Triptolemus precept by way of *rejecting an explanation attributed to Pythagoras* in the fourth century BCE: note that Xenocrates passes over the Pythagorean argument, that one should not harm animals because they are kindred to men, in favour of other speculative arguments, including an argument from utility. From this perspective, then, Xenocrates' modes of explanation are not terribly diverse from what we see associated with Anaximander the Younger's treatment of the Pythagorean *acusmata*; and the 'rationalizing' approach to explanation of the 'intention' of Triptolemus represents a sort of practical adaptation of the approach of the Homeric rhapsodes, such as Stesimbrotus and Theagenes, in which explanation of the *lemmata* obtains pragmatic reasons for speaking. This activity of a) listing the precepts, b) evaluating them and c) providing probable rationales for their introduction presents a form of exegesis that cannot be called enigmatic, despite the evidence that, at least in his approach to metaphysics and epistemology, Xenocrates was willing to identify certain elemental forces and even the various objects of knowledge with gods, goddesses and other divine figures.⁵⁸ Perhaps Xenocrates believed that there were not only diverse ways of approaching and classifying the objects of philosophical study, but also of speaking properly about them.⁵⁹

Be that as it may, we can see that in the field of ethics, Xenocrates took very seriously the project of explaining the precepts of the *principes sapientiae* who came before him. Later doxographers preserve a story in which, when asked the question, 'what advantage have you gained from philosophy?', Xenocrates responds, 'that I do what is ordained by the precepts – but of my own will'.⁶⁰ In this way, we cannot see Xenocrates' response to the archaic precepts of the wise men, including Triptolemus and possibly Pythagoras, as particularly divergent from Aristotle's own

⁵⁷ Porph. *VP* 19 = DK 14 F 8a = Dicaearchus F 41a Mirhady.

⁵⁸ There is no strong evidence that this activity should be considered 'Pythagoreanizing' before the onset of the Neopythagorean tradition, probably in the second or first century BCE. I suspect, instead, that it is much more closely linked to Orphic exegetical practices. On these tendencies in Xenocrates' metaphysics, see Horky 2013b and Janko 1997: 68–9.

⁵⁹ See, for example, what Clement of Alexandria (2.5 = F 177 IP²) says about Xenocrates: 'Xenocrates, too, in his work *On Phronesis*, says that wisdom (*sophia*) is the knowledge of the primary causes and of the intelligible being, whereas he believes that *phronēsis*, which is, in fact, a human sort of wisdom, is bifurcated into the practical and theoretical. Therefore wisdom is *phronēsis*, although not all *phronēsis* is wisdom.'

⁶⁰ F 174–6 IP².

critical response to the Pythagorean *acusmata*. In fact, what might surprise someone who considers the evidence discussed here is how similar Xenocrates' ascription of the discovery of musical intervals to Pythagoras – whatever it might have actually looked like – and his explanatory framework for the wisdom-sayings of the Eleusinian lawgiver Triptolemus reflect Peripatetic tendencies (and vice versa): in the field of ethics, Cicero saw Xenocrates and Aristotle on the same plane (*Fin.* 4.15–18 = F 152 IP²); and, as we have seen, both Xenocrates and Aristotle put at the centre of their philosophical enquiry the tripartite division of subjects into logic, physics and ethics. It is true that, especially in his theories of metaphysics and epistemology, Xenocrates' philosophy diverges quite significantly from Aristotle's, and that, moreover, Xenocrates quite often – perhaps more often than is thought – was the object of Aristotle's attack in the *Metaphysics* and *Topics*. But with regard to the correlative activities of ἰστωρίᾱ – that is, collection and basic classification of empirical data for a scientific investigation – and dialectical engagement with the ethical wisdom of his predecessors, Xenocrates appears to be a product of a broader Athenian intellectual culture, not stringently bound to any dogmatic Pythagoreanism.

10.4 Other Approaches to Pythagorean Ethics in the Early Academy: Heraclides of Pontus and Eudoxus of Cnidus

To what extent does this activity of dialectical interaction with Pythagoreanism in the writings of Aristotle and Xenocrates reflect broader traditions within the Early Academy? Like Xenocrates, other philosophers associated with the Early Academy also seem to have known and reacted in various critical ways to Pythagorean ethics: as we will see, some, such as Eudoxus of Cnidus, used Pythagoreanism dialectically to posit an ethical position counter to that of Pythagoras; and others, such as Heraclides of Pontus, transmogrify Pythagorean enquiry into (a type of) Platonic contemplation of the things that are. We will begin with the latter, whose position is somewhat heterodox by reference to the approaches of Aristotle, Xenocrates and Eudoxus.

Heraclides of Pontus, who was associated both with the Academy and the Lyceum in antiquity,⁶¹ appears to have written a dialogue⁶² concerning (among other things) Empedocles, in which Pythagoras featured as

⁶¹ See Gottschalk 1980: 1–6.

⁶² The dialogue was known to Diogenes Laertius (1.12 = F 84 Schütrumpf) by the title *On the Women Who Stopped Breathing*.

an interlocutor⁶³ of the tyrant of Phlius, Leon. In a portion of the dialogue, which is preserved translated into Latin by Cicero, the latter asks Pythagoras an important question: ‘what type of wisdom/art⁶⁴ do you trust in to the greatest extent (*qua maxime arte confideret*)?’, to which Pythagoras says:

... life seemed to him like the gathering when the great games were held, which were attended by the whole of Greece. For there some men sought to win fame and glory of the crown by exerting their bodies, others were attracted by the gain and profit of buying and selling, but there was one kind of man, the noblest of all (*maxime ingenuum*), who sought neither applause nor profit but came in order to watch, and wanted to see what was happening and how (*sed visendi causa venirent studioseque perspicerent, quid ageretur et quo modo*): so too among us, who have migrated into this life from a different life and mode of being (*nos ... in hanc vitam ex alia vita et natura profectos*), as if from some city to a crowded festival, some are slave to fame, others to money; but there are some rare spirits who, holding all else as nothing, eagerly contemplate the universe (*contemplatio rerum*). These he called ‘wisdom-lovers’, for that is what *philosophos* means ... (Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 5.3.8–9 = Heraclides of Pontus F 85 Schütrumpf; transl. Dillon)

Scholars have focused on the way in which this evidence preserves Heraclides’ speculation about the origins of the word ‘philosophy’, chiefly because this is the focus of the doxographical report from Diogenes Laertius.⁶⁵ But the information reported by Cicero here provides other insights into Heraclides’ Platonizing approach to Pythagorean ethics. First of all, Heraclides here associates Pythagoreanism with metempsychosis, a thought that is echoed elsewhere in the fragments of the Peripatetic Dicaearchus;⁶⁶ this is interesting, since firm evidence for Pythagorean metempsychosis prior to the Early Academy is difficult to come by.⁶⁷ In championing ‘Pythagorean’ metempsychosis, Heraclides appears to be at odds with his fellow associate in the Academy Xenocrates, who, as we saw above, did not consider the possibility of

⁶³ Or, equally plausible, that Empedocles was the speaker, and was associating his own philosophical views with those of Pythagoras. See Gottschalk 1980: 27.

⁶⁴ Dillon (2014: 259) follows Gottschalk (1980: 23, n. 30) in understanding *ars* to translate Greek σοφία (in order to preserve wordplay between *sophia* and *philosophia*). The latter attempts to retranslate back into Greek: ἦντινι σοφίᾳ ἰσχυρίζοιτο, but we might also consider rendering the phrase something like τί τῶν τεχνῶν ἰσχυρότερον, in line with the Pythagorean τί μάλιστά; *acusmata*.

⁶⁵ See Dillon 2014: 259 n. 10.

⁶⁶ Porphy. *VP* 19 = DK 14 F 8a = Dicaearchus F 41a Mirhady.

⁶⁷ See, most recently, the hesitations of Betegh (2014: 154–9).

grounding an abstinence from killing animals in metempsychosis, and may have been critical of this notion.⁶⁸ Secondly, Heraclides has Pythagoras critique two other forms of life that are marked by some sort of practice or skill, those of the athlete and of the merchant, in favour of the contemplative life practised by philosophers. We see something similar in Aristotle's *Protrepticus* (B 16 and 18 Düring = Iamblichus, *Protrepticus* 9), where, when asked to define (possibly) the purpose of human life (presented by Aristotle as a τί ἔστι; *acusma*)⁶⁹, Pythagoras responds, 'to observe the heavens' (τὸ θεάσασθαι τὸν οὐρανόν), which is both the project of the 'observer of nature' (θεωρὸς τῆς φύσεως), and the reason why Pythagoras claims to have 'passed into this life' (περελθὺς εἰς τὸν βίον).⁷⁰ In Aristotle, as in Heraclides, we see the replacement of the activity of Presocratic natural scientists, who practised *enquiry* into nature (ἰστωρία περὶ φύσεως),⁷¹ with the philosophical *contemplation* of nature (*contemplatio rerum*/θεωρία τῆς φύσεως): perhaps Heraclides and Aristotle sought to protect Pythagoras from criticism that he, and his followers, engaged in *mere* enquiry into nature, a charge that would have reached back as far as our evidence holds in the case of Pythagoras, who was chided by Heraclitus (DK 22 B 129) for his peculiar σοφία, known as ἰστωρία. But protecting Pythagoras in this circumstance ends up recasting him as something like a Platonic–Aristotelian 'first' philosopher, engaged in contemplation of the things that are (compare *Phaedrus* 247b–c, Philip of Opus' *Epinomis* 986c–d, and Aristotle's *Metaphysics* 1.1.981b28–982a1), and scorning humanly goods such as wealth that are the product of inferior arts, such as the arts of production.⁷² And, as in Aristotle, the activity of philosophical contemplation is associated with being a 'free' man.⁷³ Ethics and philosophical activity are coextensive, and Pythagoras is taken by both Heraclides of Pontus and Aristotle to be the progenitor of such a combination. We would do well not to overlook the significance of the definition, associated with Pythagoras by Heraclides, that appears to answer the acusmatic question, 'what is the happiness?': Heraclides of Pontus recounts that 'Pythagoras handed down' (παροδεδωκέναι) the definitional *acusma* that 'happiness

⁶⁸ Also cf. Burkert 1972: 124.

⁶⁹ So it appears, although it is difficult to know what the original question was.

⁷⁰ On this passage and its originality in Aristotle's work, see Gottschalk 1980: 33–5.

⁷¹ See Pl. *Phd.* 96b and Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.11–12, where the term is διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν πάντων φύσεως.

⁷² Also see Nightingale 2004: ch. 3.

⁷³ For Aristotle's take on freedom and *theōria*, see Nightingale 2004: 230–5.

is the knowledge of the perfection of the numbers of the soul' (τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῆς τελειότητος τῶν ἀριθμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι).⁷⁴

The case of Eudoxus of Cnidus' reaction to Pythagorean ethics is quite different from that of Heraclides of Pontus, and much closer to that of Xenocrates discussed above. Eudoxus is considered by Diogenes Laertius to have been a Pythagorean, as he places his biography in the eighth, Pythagorean, book of his *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, but this must remain doubtful. Eudoxus is said there to have studied the geometry of Archytas, and also to have been a pupil of Plato (D.L. 8.86 = T 7 Lasserre); evidence independent of the biographical tradition found in Diogenes Laertius shows Eudoxus' appropriation of Archytas' harmonics.⁷⁵ His approach to Pythagorean ethics has not been discussed extensively by scholars, except to mention that Eudoxus' notion that the good is pleasure is at odds with the ethics of Archytas and, more generally, the Pythagoreans.⁷⁶ Yet, remarkably, Eudoxus wrote in his substantial work *Description of the Earth* about Pythagoras' abstinence:

Moreover, Eudoxus, in the seventh book of his *Description of the Earth*, writes that Pythagoras practised purity and abhorrence from all murder and murderers, to such an extent that he not only abstained from [killing? eating?]⁷⁷ animals (τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀπέχεσθαι), but also held himself apart from butchers and hunters. (Eudoxus F 325 Lasserre = Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 7)

This information does not differ significantly from what we hear above in Xenocrates and Iamblichus, viz. Pythagoras' τί πράττειν; *acusma* that stipulates abstention from killing other animals. The main question that arises here is whether Eudoxus cited this aspect of Pythagoras' ethics in order to confirm it, or to some other end – perhaps for dialectical reasons.

There is some reason to think that Eudoxus, indeed, presented Pythagoras' *acusma* concerning abstinence from animals in order to critique it. Consider the evidence for his notion of pleasure as the highest good:

⁷⁴ F 25 Schütrumpf = Clem. Al. *Strom.* 2.21, translation following Prince, Stork and van Ophuijsen.

⁷⁵ See Fragments 63–4 Lasserre. For Archytas and Eudoxus' mathematics, see Huffman 2005: 7, 171–2 and 375–6.

⁷⁶ Huffman 2008: 294–5.

⁷⁷ Compare Xenocrates F 170 IP², discussed above. Most commentators assume Eudoxus was writing about Pythagoras' abstinence from eating animals, but the text does not say that expressly. Similarly, above, we see that Xenocrates' concern has to do with the legitimacy of killing, not eating, animals (the issue of eating them or not was a focus of Porphyry, the source text).

[Eudoxus] observed that all animals, both rational and irrational, pursue pleasure, and, in every case, what is choice-worthy is good, and what is most choice-worthy is best. Indeed, the fact that all animals are borne in the direction of the same thing testifies that this thing is best in every case (*for each thing, he said, discovers its own good, just as it finds its own food*); but what is good for all animals, and which all animals pursue, is the good. (Eudoxus F 3 Lasserre = Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 10.2, 1172b9–15)

According to Aristotle, Eudoxus argued that pleasure is the good, and he demonstrated the fact by showing that all animals, both rational and irrational, pursue what is good for themselves. The example Eudoxus gives is food – the food that is peculiarly good for each animal, rational or irrational, will be what it pursues (naturally), and this fact seems to indicate that whether goods are particular or universal, they are pursued because they are pleasurable. Pythagoras' abstention from other animals, then, represents a position counter to that of Eudoxus: Pythagoras' philosophy does not deal with the *pursuit* of goods, but rather focuses on reasons why someone should hold off or *abstain* from goods (such as food). We can speculate that Eudoxus found Pythagoras' ethical position concerning abstention from animals to be contrary to animal nature, or possibly absurd.⁷⁸ If humans are indeed 'kindred' with other animals, as Pythagoras was thought to hold according to Xenocrates and Dicaearchus, they must pursue the same universal good, which is pleasure; but if Pythagoras' *acusma* counsels abstinence from eating other animals, either this runs counter to nature, or it indicates that rational and irrational animals are not of the same kind.

10.5 Conclusions

If this hypothetical reconstruction of Eudoxus' response to Pythagoras is right, we can see that his approach to Pythagorean ethics, like that of Xenocrates, was generally critical, and featured an evaluation of Pythagoras' claims concerning abstention from animals in a rationalizing vein. For Eudoxus, and quite likely Xenocrates as well, Pythagoras'

⁷⁸ It is clear, as Schofield has argued (1971), that Plato's *Philebus* stages an attack on an argument similar to that of Eudoxus, as Socrates sets out to refute Philebus, who believes that pleasure is the good for all animals (11b; 22b). Among other things, Socrates refutes Philebus by showing that there are different lives for different kinds of animals, and that the life of a crustacean wouldn't be preferable to that of a human (21c). Schofield and others (especially Dillon 2003: 65–75) believe certain arguments against Philebus' Eudoxan hedonism in the *Philebus* are those of Speusippus, a position I am inclined to accept.

ethical injunctions, as preserved in the *acusmata*, represented *endoxa* that helped to shape the philosophical dialectic, but in themselves were not indicative of the wisdom and excellence of a divine man. Another way of putting it is this: Eudoxus and Xenocrates did not commit to any sort of *ipse dixit* model in their approach to Pythagorean ethics, but rather brought them into a broadly rationalizing framework.⁷⁹

With regard to the Early Academy's reaction to the Pythagorean *acusmata* related to the field of ethics, then, the odd one out appears to be Heraclides of Pontus, who described Pythagoras as a forefather who passed down a philosophical method that would ultimately coalesce into Platonic contemplation of the Forms. For his part, Aristotle employs both approaches to Pythagorean ethics, adapting the rationalizing dialectical approach found in Anaximander the Younger's collection of the *acusmata*, while at the same time celebrating Pythagoras, and the Pythagoreans, as forerunners in the field of metaphysics. A study of the approaches of these figures to Pythagorean ethics has thus led to the conclusion that while the figures associated with the Early Academy, such as Xenocrates, Eudoxus and Heraclides, responded in various ways to Pythagorean ethics, Aristotle seems to have had each of their approaches at his disposal, and made good use of them for his own purposes.⁸⁰ Hence, our study has illuminated a more complex set of systems of reaction to the Pythagorean *acusmata* than what is implied in Porphyry's account at *Life of Pythagoras* 53, where the Neoplatonist spoke bluntly of the mere recording of the 'superficial or inconsequential' Pythagorean doctrines by the affiliates of the Early Academy and Lyceum. As far the proverb goes, Pythagorean things were indeed shared among friends in the Early Academy and Lyceum – but not by everyone in exactly the same way.

⁷⁹ Interestingly, Iamblichus attacked both Xenocrates and Eudoxus for failing to adopt the enigmatic etymologization of Pythagoras' name and making Pythagoras a son of Apollo: 'And when she [*sc.* Parthenis] gave birth in Sidon of Phoenicia, he [*sc.* Mnemarchus] called the son born 'Pythagoras', because the Pythian greeted him [by name] (ὅτι ἄρα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πυθίου προηγορεύθη αὐτῷ). We must reject here the view of Epimenides, Eudoxus and Xenocrates, who assumed that Apollo had intercourse with Parthenis at that time, and when she was not pregnant, he made her so, and announced it through his prophetess' (Iambl. *VP* 7 = Eudoxus F 324 Lasserre = Xenocrates F 141 IP²; transl. after Dillon and Hershbell).

⁸⁰ Given the similarities in presentation, one wonders whether the pro-Pythagoras speaker in Aristotle's *Protrepticus* was, indeed, Heraclides of Pontus. For this hypothesis, see Hutchinson and Johnson's forthcoming work on Aristotle's *Protrepticus*.

*Polemo, grosser Schatten of the Old Academy**John Dillon*

The mystery of Polemo has been a concern to me ever since I began to take an interest in the Old Academy after Plato, an interest which goes back, to at least a certain extent, all the way to the mid 1970s. At the time of composing *The Middle Platonists* (1977), I was moved to remark (p. 40) that though Polemo ‘administered the Academy for over fifty years, and certainly left a mark on it, ... of the nature of that mark we are miserably ill-informed’. The ‘fifty years’ is, it must be said, a slight exaggeration. Polemo was scholarch from 314 to 276, which gives us 38 years – but no matter; the point is valid enough.

I do note, of course, that such sources as we have put a strong emphasis on practical ethics, and I quote Diogenes Laertius on the topic (4.18):

Polemo used to say that we should exercise ourselves with facts (*pragmata*), and not with logical speculations (*dialektika theērēmata*), which leave us, like a man who has got up some paltry handbook on harmony but never practised, able, indeed, to win admiration for skill in asking questions (*erōtēsis*), but utterly at variance with ourselves in the ordering of our lives (*diathesis*). (Transl. Hicks)

This is certainly the remark of a man who has due contempt for abstract theorizing in an area where the quality of practical activity is crucial, and it may well reflect Polemo’s overall attitude to theoretical philosophy, but I do not think that it can be the whole story.

Two larger questions seem to me to arise as background to any enquiry into the nature of Polemo’s place in the Platonic tradition. The first is what it means to be a Platonist at all; and the second is the extent to which the Stoicism of Zeno of Kition and his successors can reasonably be viewed – in the way that it was viewed by Antiochus of Ascalon, for example¹ – as a sort of ‘correction’, or ‘tidying-up’, of the teachings of Polemo.

¹ Cf. Cic. *Acad.* 1.35; 43.

On the first question, I must say that I have been most attracted of late by a bold formulation of Lloyd Gerson, in a recent book of his on a subject that he has been worrying away at for some time now,² concerning the basic characteristics of what he wants to term ‘Ur-Platonism’ (UP). He chooses to express this as a set of negativities, tendencies in philosophy that Plato is *against*. They are as follows: *anti-materialism*, *anti-mechanism*, *anti-nominalism*, *anti-relativism* and *anti-scepticism*. Gerson does not wish to claim that these ‘antis’ were ever formalized by Plato as such, or that they constituted any kind of creed to which members of the Academy had to swear allegiance; simply that these negativities were a sort of framework within which Plato and those who became his companions were content to work.

In connection with Polemo – and indeed certain other members of the Academy, such as Philip of Opus and Heraclides of Pontus – the most interesting of these ‘taboos’ is ‘materialism’. As far as Plato was concerned, the materialism which he opposed would have been above all the atomism of Leucippus and Democritus, which also involved ‘mechanism’. What I would like to suggest, in the context of Polemo, is that such arguably ‘material’ entities as the Aristotelian *aithēr*, or indeed the ‘craftsmanly’ or ‘intellectual’ fire (*pyr tekhnikon*, *noeron*) of the Stoics would not necessarily fall under the Platonist ban, and that thus it becomes a permissible option to adopt such a concept as *aithēr* to serve as the substance of the heavenly bodies, the soul, and even of God; but more of that presently.

The second question is one which is central for evaluating the project of Antiochus of Ascalon in the first century BC. Antiochus, as is by now well enough known,³ bases his return to a dogmatic system of Platonism on the premise that Zeno, in founding Stoicism, is simply engaged in a kind of ‘revamping’ of the brand of Platonism being promulgated by Polemo and his associates in the final stage of the Old Academic period, during the first two decades of the third century. The issue is whether he is engaging here in some wholesale deception, or self-deception, or whether, after all, he (who is likely to have known a great deal more about the Old Academy than we can ever do) has some solid basis for his postulate. I would like to suggest that the truth here lies, as so often,

² Gerson 2013: ch. 1.

³ In this connection, I have been deriving much stimulation recently from a reading of a number of the papers contained in Sedley 2012a, specifically those of Roberto Polito, Sedley himself, Charles Brittain, Brad Inwood, George Boys-Stones, David Blank and Mauro Bonazzi (though all the papers are excellent in their ways).

somewhere in the middle between two extreme positions: the acceptance at face value of all of Antiochus' claims, so far as we can discern them; and what one may call the 'Barnesian' position,⁴ that the whole concept of the revived 'Old Academy' and its wide-ranging concordance with Stoicism is a fantasy and a fabrication by Antiochus. It seems to me quite probable that Antiochus is massaging the evidence to some extent, in order to maximize the degree of concordance (though he is not behind-hand either in criticizing the Stoics when he feels they have deviated from the Old Academic consensus!),⁵ but that he could not have advanced his theory at all, had he not had at least some stimulus to it from his knowledge of the philosophical positions of Xenocrates and, in particular, Polemo.

That said, let us turn briefly to look at the biographical details on Polemo as preserved in Diogenes Laertius – probably borrowed by him in large part from the Hellenistic gossip columnist Antigonos of Carystus, who was a virtual contemporary (*fl.* c.240 BC), and thus not entirely devoid of credibility.⁶ Antigonos gives us the – presumably reliable – 'hard' facts that Polemo was the son of one Philostratus, of the deme of Oea, who was a very prominent member of Athenian society (*prōtos tōn politōn*), and kept a stable of horses for chariot-racing (*harmatotrophēsai*) – this detail being presumably selected as a characteristic mark of great wealth. Philostratus does not seem to figure in the contemporary inscriptional record, so he may have avoided public life, and stuck to the tendance of his horses! At any rate, that is more or less the last hard fact we are going to get; the rest of our information comes under the category of anecdote – though that is not to say that useful information may not be derived from it.

These anecdotes fall into two sections: those that concern Polemo's earlier life of dissipation, and those which concern his notable austerity following his conversion.

As to the former group, as I was reading over the account of Polemo's conversion to philosophy, something possibly significant struck me, which had not done so previously.⁷ This is a very popular anecdote, of

⁴ That is to say, the position adopted by Jonathan Barnes, particularly in his essay 'Antiochus of Ascalon', in Griffin & Barnes 1989.

⁵ As, of course, he is prepared to criticize Aristotle and Theophrastus when they deviate, despite his stance on the essential unity of the Academy and the Peripatus (cf. e.g. Cic. *Acad.* 1.33).

⁶ D.L. drops his name apropos of some slightly later details, but it is plain from a more or less parallel passage in Philodemus' *History of the Academy* (cols. IV 40–XIII 10) that Antigonos is responsible for the earlier details as well.

⁷ Having arrived at this insight, if insight it be, I find myself now largely anticipated by the perceptive remarks of Harold Tarrant, (2012a). I find this most encouraging.

which Gigante is able to list fully nineteen versions in his collection of the 'fragments',⁸ which involves Polemo, who at this stage is a notorious rake, on the head of an agreement with his young friends (*synthemenos tois neois*) – presumably some sort of wager was involved – lurching into Xenocrates' seminar, drunk and garlanded (*methyōn kai estephanōmenos*), with the purpose, we must imagine, of causing some sort of mayhem, and discomfiting the notoriously unflappable Xenocrates. Instead, however, Polemo slumps down at the back of the lecture room, and finds himself listening to Xenocrates calmly continuing to deliver a lecture on *sōphrosynē*, which results in his becoming hooked on philosophy as a way of life, the *bios philosophikos*.

What struck me, as I say, on re-reading this story, is the 'drunk and garlanded' bit. Now no doubt young Athenian rakes, lurching around town on a *kōmos*, tended generally to be drunk and garlanded, but one cannot help thinking of the very similar arrival of Alcibiades at Agathon's intellectual dinner party in the *Symposium* (212d–e), also *methyōn kai estephanōmenos*. Could it be that the purveyors of this anecdote, acquainted as they would be both with Plato's *Symposium* and with the whole saga of the fraught relationship between Socrates and Alcibiades, are setting up here a contrast between the two cases, to the advantage of Xenocrates? Xenocrates captivates the riotous young Polemo, and he *stays* captivated; Alcibiades, captivated though he also was by Socrates, sadly and notoriously, did not stay faithful.

Another curious detail also provided by Antigonus (D.L. 4.17) seems to set up a further resonance. He tells us that Polemo's wife (he must therefore have been at least in his late twenties when he barged into Xenocrates' seminar) actually sued him for cruelty (she brought a *dikē kakōseōs* against him), by reason of his inconsiderate lifestyle, 'chasing after boys' (*hōs meirakiois synonta*). We know (from Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades* 8.3–4), and presumably therefore Antigonus and/or his sources also knew, that Alcibiades' wife brought an identical case against him, for similar reasons. It rather looks to me as if someone is setting up Polemo here as a sort of 'successful' version of Alcibiades: Xenocrates' teaching stuck in a way that Socrates' did not – and perhaps that would be because Xenocrates' teaching was dogmatic, while Socrates' was aporetic.

But such speculations are perhaps somewhat far-fetched. Let us return to the biographical record. Once Polemo had been converted – an event which must, I think, have occurred no later than 320, if not earlier, if he

⁸ Gigante 1977: Fr. 15–33.

is to be in a position to succeed Xenocrates as head of school in 314 – his lifestyle changed dramatically, and he became noted for his unalterable sobriety. Antigonus tells us (D.L. 4.17) that ‘from the time when he began to study philosophy, he acquired such firmness of character (*tosouton epiteinai to êthos*) as always to maintain the same unruffled calm of demeanour’. This plainly was particularly impressive to all who knew him. His colleague Crantor, when asked what especially attracted him to Polemo, is said to have replied, ‘The fact that I never heard him raise or lower his voice in speaking’ (4.24). There is further the remarkable story of his remaining quite calm after being bitten by a mad dog, despite the general uproar which surrounded the incident. We must presume that the dog was not really rabid – otherwise even philosophic calm would not have prevented a deeply unpleasant death from rabies; but the story plainly imprinted itself upon the public consciousness.

He was not, nonetheless, impervious to personal affections. Though we always need to take with a grain of salt the readiness of philosophical biographers to describe a given philosopher’s favourite disciple or chosen successor as their ‘beloved’ (*erômenos, paidika*), Polemo’s attachment to his favourite pupil Crates, who ultimately succeeded him, was plainly very close. We are told (4.21) that ‘the two so loved each other that they not only shared the same pursuits (*epitêdeumata*), but grew more and more alike to their latest breath, and in death shared the same tomb’. Arcesilaus, who succeeded Crates as head of the Academy, and is himself described (probably by Antigonus, 4.22) as being the *erômenos* of Crantor, spoke of them as being ‘sort of gods, or left-overs from the Golden Race’ (*theoi tines ē leipsana tōn ek tou khrysou genous*), a compliment the exact significance of which is not entirely easy to unravel, and which may possibly embody just a touch of irony. In the living arrangements of the senior members of the school, as reported by Antigonus, Polemo lived with Crates in the house of a certain Lysicles, while Arcesilaus lived with Crantor. One would like to be able to claim Polemo as one of the very few Platonist philosophers who is attested as having been married,⁹ but presumably his unfortunate wife (if she is not just a figment of anecdote) had been let go before his conversion to philosophy; his affections after his conversion seem to be confined to those of his own sex.

However, it is time now to focus on what we might be able to identify as his philosophical position. To begin with ethics, one might perhaps

⁹ The only others that I can think of being Plutarch and, in a very high-minded and restricted sense, Porphyry.

conclude from the details that we have of his way of life that Polemo is approaching near to the later ideal of the Stoic Sage, and this may indeed be significant. His notable impassivity is, of course, a characteristic which he shares with his mentor Xenocrates, and from the later perspective of Antiochus their ethical positions are closely allied, asserting the overwhelming superiority of virtue for the achieving of happiness, but not rejecting the role of the 'lower' goods, goods of the body and external goods, as being instrumental in its perfection.

We may accept, I think, the (probable)¹⁰ testimony of Antiochus, via Cicero in *De finibus* 2.33–4, that Polemo, following Xenocrates, had already put forward a formulation akin to the Stoic doctrine of 'self-conciliation' (*oikeiōsis*), as the basis for a system of ethics:

Every living creature, from the moment of birth, loves itself and all its parts; primarily this self-regard embraces the two main divisions of mind and body, and subsequently the parts of each of these. Both mind and body have certain excellences; of these the young animal grows vaguely conscious, and later begins to discriminate, and to seek for the primary endowments of nature and shun their opposites ... And this is the fountain-head from which one's whole theory of goods and evils must necessarily flow. Polemon, and also before him Aristotle, held that the primary objects were the ones I have just mentioned. Thus arose the doctrine of the Old Academy and of the Peripatetics, maintaining that the end of goods is to live in accordance with nature, that is to enjoy the primary things granted by nature (*prima a natura data = ta prōta kata physin*) with the accompaniment of virtue. (Transl. Rackham)

It is interesting here that Polemo is not linked, as so often elsewhere, with Xenocrates, but rather with Aristotle (the Aristotle of the exoteric works, necessarily, not the esoteric works available to us), and that may be significant of some slight distinction between Polemo and his master – but one must reflect that it is *Xenocrates* and Aristotle that are credited, in a later passage (4.15–18), with a very similar theory, so there may not be much in that.

We seem to have here, at any rate, the outline of a fairly distinctive Old Academic theory of the genesis and nature of an ethical system, from which (at least the *exoteric*) Aristotle does not dissent. It is based on an anticipation of the Stoic theory of *oikeiōsis*, according to which the

¹⁰ I say 'probable', because unfortunately Antiochus is not mentioned by name in this context, and I note that, in the Appendix to the *Philosophy of Antiochus* volume (Sedley 2012a: 334), David Sedley has decided to exclude the passage from his list of testimonies (*contra* Mette, for whom it is Fr. 9a). I just do not believe that Cicero has any other sources of information on the Old Academy – that is, that he would bother using – so that Antiochus has to be at the back of this.

rational living being, building on the instincts of self-preservation common to all living beings, progressively develops an understanding of the true nature of the excellence (*aretē*) proper to him, which consists in the fullest possible development of the goods of the soul, which are the virtues, together with a proper appreciation of the – greatly inferior, but still *instrumentally* necessary – goods of the body and external goods.¹¹ This, for Antiochus, is the correct theory, as developed in the Old Academy, in particular by Xenocrates and Polemo. The Stoics are criticized for taking up a position that is *too* austere, denying the status of goods of any sort to the lower two levels of Platonist good, the ‘human goods’, as they are termed in the *Laws* (1.631b–c),¹² and substituting a rather waffling category of ‘preferred indifferents’. And as a counterweight to this criticism of Stoic doctrine, Theophrastus, within the Peripatus, is scolded for ‘robbing virtue of her beauty and weakening her strength by denying that the happy life (*beate vivere*) is based in her alone’.¹³

For Xenocrates and Polemo, therefore, it is not required or desirable that the human being totally transcend *ta prōta kata physin*; it is enough simply to discern clearly how they are to be subordinated to the acquisition of the virtues. That said, can we discern any differences of emphasis between master and pupil on this fundamental question? I think that we can, and for that we need to turn to two testimonia of Clement of Alexandria, who presents in the *Stromateis* (2.22 = Fr. 77 H/232 IP) accounts of the definitions of *eudaimonia* by Xenocrates and Polemo respectively. First Xenocrates:

Xenocrates of Chalcedon defines happiness (*eudaimonia*) as the acquisition of the virtue proper to us and of the resources with which to service it. Then as regards the proper seat (*en hōi*) of this, he plainly says the soul; as the motive causes of it (*hyph' hōn*) he identifies the virtues; as the material

¹¹ It might well be asked – and was in fact asked, very pertinently, at the meeting, by Georgia Tsouni – on what text from the dialogues such a doctrine could be based. At the time, nothing occurred to me, and I suggested rather that it might actually have arisen as a response to a thesis of Eudoxus of Cnidos (cf. Arist. *EN* 1.12, 1101b27–31; 10.2, 1172b9–18) arguing for pleasure as the good, on the grounds that every animal from its earliest moments plainly strives for the maximization of this; but I now think, on reflection, that a case might be made for a passage from the *Symposium*, 204d–206a, where Diotima proposes to Socrates that all human beings strive to possess the Good or the Beautiful, in order to attain happiness.

¹² Antiochus, indeed, is reported at *Fin.* 5.28 as taking a dig at Chrysippus for so framing his ethics as to present man as being, not a mind in a body, but a mind without a body! Varro, in his *De philosophia*, as quoted by Augustine at *C.D.* 19.3, states the Antiochian position – and therefore Antiochus’ view of the Old Academic position – very clearly and well, highlighting the dual nature of man.

¹³ This, as I will argue, is probably a Polemonian, rather than a Xenocratean, criticism of Theophrastus.

causes (*ex hōn*), in the sense of parts, noble actions and good habits and attitudes (*hexeis te kai diatheseis*); and as indispensable accompaniments (*hōn ouk aneu*), bodily and external goods.

I don't wish to dwell on this in great detail in the present context, since we are primarily concerned with Polemo, but we may note in particular the status of the bodily and external goods as *hōn ouk aneu*, situating them as thoroughly inferior and subordinate to the virtues, certainly, but on the other hand as necessary underpinnings of the happy life.

When we turn to Polemo, though, in the same source, what do we find?

Polemo, the associate of Xenocrates, seems to wish happiness to consist in self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) in respect of all good things, or at least the most and greatest of them. For he lays it down that happiness can never be achieved apart from virtue, while virtue is sufficient for happiness *even if bereft of bodily and external goods*.

May we not discern here a significant shift in emphasis – provided, of course, that we can trust Clement's basic accuracy? I think that we may, and that it sets up Polemo as a plausible antecedent of Stoic austerity. This report seems to indicate that, even though Polemo may have recognized some subsidiary role in the achieving of *eudaimonia* for the lower goods, he makes the important assertion that virtue alone is sufficient for its attainment. We might also speculate, in this connection, as to whether Polemo's ideal of *autarkeia* for the accomplished sage might be relatable to Plato's specification, in *Timaeus* 33d, that the cosmos (which, for Polemo, as we shall see in a moment, is the supreme deity) is *autarkēs*, in that it does not require any sustenance from outside, nor does it have any need to disburden itself of superfluities from within itself. Of course, the human sage cannot aspire to this, but he or she could aim for it *in so far as is possible* – *kata to dynaton* – to quote *Tht.* 176a. This could thus be seen as a sort of *homoiōsis theōi*.¹⁴

It is notable, certainly, that if we were entirely dependent on Antiochus, via Cicero, for our information, we would not derive a clear impression of divergence between Xenocrates and Polemo on this issue, but then it was by no means in Antiochus' interest to stress differences between the *veteres*, seeing as they communally possessed the whole truth. Fortunately, though, we are not entirely dependent on him for our information. We may assume, I think, that virtually the only respect in which Polemo differed from his pupil Zeno was in maintaining the status

¹⁴ I am indebted to Gábor Betegh for this observation.

of the lower two classes of good as *goods*, not simply 'indifferents' (*adiaphora*).

That Polemo should have had a distinctive ethical theory, then, largely anticipating that of the Stoics, may be accepted as reasonable. Much more controversial, however, is the question as to whether he had developed a distinctive physical theory that might also serve as an anticipation of Stoicism. Nonetheless, there seems to me to be some evidence on the question that should not be dismissed.

There is not much to go on here, certainly, but there is at least one straw in the wind, in the shape of a bald doxographic report from Aetius, preserved in Stobaeus (just prior to a much more elaborate report on the theology of Xenocrates), declaring that 'Polemo declared that the cosmos is God' (*Polemōn ton kosmon theon apephēnato*). Now it might be thought that this need only mean that Polemo thought that the cosmos was *a* god, which would not be of great interest. However, the context in which it occurs excludes that. The whole section in Stobaeus is concerned with the nature and functions of the supreme principle, not of any subordinate or partial divinity, so this must give Polemo's views on that subject.

The question is, how outlandish or outrageous would such a position be in the context of the Old Academy? Somewhat surprising, perhaps, but I would argue that his doctrine here can be viewed as being in line with certain other tendencies that had been manifesting themselves within the Academy since shortly after Plato's death. I think particularly here of such a figure as Philip of Opus, who in the *Epinomis* (which I take to be his production, rather than a senile effusion of the aged Plato) plainly presents an immanent rational World Soul as the supreme principle in the universe (cf. e.g. 981b–e, 983c–d, 988c–e), the workings of whose mind we may study by pursuing astronomy (976d ff.), which thus seems to supplant dialectic as the supreme science. It is not clear, certainly, what Philip considers might be the composition of this World Soul – *sc.* whether it is assumed to be immaterial, or rather composed of some distinctively fine substance such as aether – but we know that his contemporary Heraclides of Pontus held that the human soul – and no doubt the World Soul – was composed of aether, being of the same substance as the heavenly bodies (Fr. 99 Wehrli). Indeed, if we look closely at certain details of the doctrine of Xenocrates, we note, first of all, that – unlike Plato himself, who remains studiously vague on the question – he is prepared to identify the dodecahedron (of the basic Platonic bodies set out in the *Timaeus*, 55a ff.), with aether, as the substance of the heavens (accepting Aristotle's position on this).

Again, in Aetius' summary of Xenocrates' theology, which is to be found in Stobaeus immediately preceding the cryptic sentence on Polemo, Xenocrates is presented as postulating his supreme active principle, the Nous-Monad, as 'reigning in the heavens' (*en ouranōi basileuousan*). This phrase is plainly inspired by the description of Zeus in the myth of the *Phaedrus* (246e), and could be regarded as merely figurative, but it need not be. I would suggest that Xenocrates in fact viewed his supreme principle, not as transcendent, but rather as residing in the highest part of the heavens – the realm of the fixed stars – and directing the universe from there. What is not yet clear is precisely what the Nous-Monad is composed of, and indications are that he remained true to Plato's doctrine as to the immateriality of spiritual substances. At any rate, there is an interesting remark in Cicero's *Academica posteriora* (1.39), where Varro, representing Antiochus, portrays Zeno as dissenting from his immediate predecessors in the Academy as to the existence of aether as a fifth substance, in favour of a pure form of fire:

He laid it down that the natural substance that was the parent of all things, even of the senses and the mind, was fire. He also differed from the same thinkers in holding that an incorporeal substance, such as Xenocrates and the older thinkers also had pronounced the mind to be, was incapable of any activity, whereas anything capable of acting or being acted upon in any way could not be incorporeal.

I find this a significant passage in many ways. Varro does not mention Polemo here, though usually he is linked with Xenocrates, and he refers to *Xenocrates et superiores*, not the Old Academy in general (which he would normally refer to as the *veteres*). I would take this as a devious way of indicating – Antiochus would not wish to highlight a difference of position among the *veteres* – that in fact Polemo did *not* maintain that the supreme principle was incorporeal. If Polemo did accept that the substance of the supreme principle was aether, then Zeno still has a quarrel with him, since he dismissed the Aristotelian and Old Academic postulate of aether as a fudge – a so-called 'fifth element' that was presented as a quasi-immaterial entity – and plumped firmly for a pure form of fire.

In fact, of course, the Zenonian *pyr tekhnikon* turns out to be just as peculiar as aether, and not at all like ordinary sublunar fire, but this assertion has enabled Zeno to differentiate himself satisfactorily from his Old Academic mentors, in particular Polemo, and assert a distinctive 'materialist' position, even as in ethics he differentiated himself by downgrading the 'mortal goods' to the status of 'indifferents', and thus claimed the

moral high ground there – before letting them back in as ‘*preferred*’ indifferents’. Such are the strategies necessary for founding a school of one’s own!

In conclusion, I think that we can rescue Polemo to some extent from the status of being merely a *grosser Schatten*. He was plainly a notable character, but he also, I would maintain, made some distinctive contributions to Old Academic doctrine. It is undeniable, though, that that is not what he was most remembered for, at least if we may trust Diogenes Laertius. Let us just end with a few more anecdotal details, to round off our picture of the man.

The first one that I select (4.19) is one of which I must confess I do not entirely grasp the significance. ‘He would not, as they say, even sit down to deal with the themes of his pupils (*pros tas theseis*), but would argue walking up and down.’ This seems to have some connection with his being ‘refined and generous’ (*asoloikos kai gennaios*), as specified just above, so it is presumably an indication of his informal and companionable style of teaching, but I fail to see how that helps from a pedagogical point of view.

Another detail is somewhat clearer in implication, though still not entirely so (*ibid.*): Polemo ‘withdrew from society’, or ‘became reclusive’ (*ekpepatēkōs*),¹⁵ and ‘spent his time in the Garden’ (*kēpos*, which I take to refer to Plato’s villa adjacent to the Academy park), so that his pupils took to constructing little huts (*kalybia*) for themselves in the grounds, not far from the shrine of the Muses (*mouseion*, which I take to be the spiritual focus of the school) and the lecture hall (*exedra*).¹⁶ If we could properly unravel the implications of this report, it would tell us something about the physical structure and organization of the school, as well as about the peculiarities of the scholar. We know of the Mouseion from the report, again in Diogenes (4.1), about Speusippus, that ‘he set up statues of the Graces in the Mouseion erected by Plato in the Academy’. This makes it sound as if the Mouseion was situated in the Academy park, rather than in the *kēpos*, but Diogenes may not have known where it was. At any rate, wherever the Mouseion was, there was the *exedra* also, and there also were the huts of the students, so I would suggest that they were all in the *kēpos*. I am not familiar with the

¹⁵ *Ekpepatēō*, used four times by Diogenes, once of Epimenides (1.112), here of Polemo, once of Heraclitus (9.3), and once of Pyrrho of Elis (9.63), seems to have the general connotation of ‘retreating into solitude’, or ‘withdrawing from society’. It places Polemo in curious company.

¹⁶ I have discussed the problem of the physical dispositions of the Academy in more detail in Dillon 1983, but without, I fear, solving all the difficulties.

regulations on overnight camping in public parks in Athens in the late fourth century BC, but I doubt that such activity would have been tolerated. Polemo himself, as we have seen, did not actually live in the *kēpos*, but (with Crates) in the house of Lysicles. We must suppose, however, that this was not far away.

The final report that I would like to dwell on is one that reveals an interestingly positive attitude on Polemo's part to the poets – considering the well-known strictures of Plato himself. Polemo, we learn (4.20), was a great admirer of Sophocles – seemingly, if we may so interpret the rather cryptic explanation given by Diogenes, in particular of the austere ethical sentiments expressed in the plays. He liked to term Homer the Sophocles of epic, and Sophocles the Homer of tragedy. I would suggest that this more positive attitude to tragedy may be indicative of the development within the later Academy of a theory – allowed for already, it must be said, in Plato's *Phaedrus* – of a 'higher' form of poetry, composed by poets who have acquired a vision of the truth, and who thus escape the strictures of Plato, who condemns the poets for the *mimēsis* of appearances, and thus being three degrees from the truth. This of course assumes that Sophocles can be regarded as such a poet, but after all Plato allows Socrates to speak well in general of Sophocles; it was rather Euripides to whom he objected.¹⁷

At any rate, there, I think, we may leave the fourth head of the Academy, having, I hope, fleshed out to some extent the rather skeletal and distorted image of him that has been transmitted to posterity.

¹⁷ His colleague Crantor, we may note (D.L. 4.26), is said to have admired Homer *and Euripides* above all other poets, which carries things a stage further.

One Academy? The Transition from Polemo and Crates to Arcesilaus

Harold Tarrant

12.1 Introduction

It is convenient for the teaching of ancient philosophy that the Old Academy should terminate with Crates, and that a new Hellenistic phase should be ushered in by Arcesilaus' revolutionary introduction of a distinctly Academic brand of 'Scepticism'. It helps bridge the gap between the early precursors of Pyrrhonist Scepticism, i.e. Pyrrho himself and Timon, and the Pyrrhonist revival of Aenesidemus. And it supplies an 'ism' to suit our modern demand for philosophic labels. It also gives colour and controversy to the otherwise increasingly pedestrian history of Plato's school, something to which students will readily respond. It is convenient, but is it right? Clearly there were changes in the public face of the newly invigorated Academy, and I do not want to deny the credit for those changes to Arcesilaus. After all, Speusippus, Xenocrates and Polemo had all stamped their own personalities on the Academy during the time of their leadership, but nobody had seen this as in any way illegitimate. The question that concerns me is whether such changes amounted to *stasis*. Not everybody is content with such a view.¹

The notion of a revolution within the school was developed by Antiochus of Ascalon, though even the evidence of Cicero's Antiochean spokesman Piso acknowledges a degree of continuity between Polemo's Academy and Arcesilaus. In a passage to which Roberto Polito has recently drawn attention (*Fin.* 5.94),² we are told that Cicero's supposed 'New Academic' ally Arcesilaus is in actual fact on the 'Peripatetic/Old Academic' side, for although he was too addicted to argument he was

¹ Between my writing and revising this paper an article appeared that sees Arcesilaus' so-called 'scepticism' in terms of the revival of Platonic 'midwifery'; see Snyder 2014; my account of Arcesilaus is prefigured in Tarrant 2013a, especially 253–7. See also Trabattoni 2005, and compare too Lévy 1994.

² See Polito 2012: 53–4; Polito should have been a little more cautious about the context, which relates principally to the ability of inner happiness to withstand bodily and external misfortunes.

nevertheless Polemo's man (in some sense).³ The remark is based upon a saying of Arcesilaus⁴ when he was suffering from gout, in which he clearly sees pain as bad, but nevertheless denies that it has any effect on his inner well-being. One should not make too much of the fact that Piso was a Peripatetic, because, if it were Peripatetic links that were being stressed, then attention would have been drawn to Arcesilaus' studies under Theophrastus rather than his close links with Polemo. Perhaps Antiochus and his friends were content to believe that Arcesilaus' headship was the period when things *had begun* to go wrong.

The idea of a revolution was later given its most eloquent extant expression by Numenius, who wrote a work on the Academic *diastasis* from Plato (fr. 24–8 des Places). What we have of this satirical piece is well worth reading, but it is based on the unhistorical notion of the fading of an ancient vision: the vision of Pythagoras, which Plato had somewhat ambiguously preserved for posterity, which the Old Academy had more or less clung to, and which Arcesilaus abandoned in favour of his sceptical strategies. Though Xenocrates and Speusippus were certainly interested in the connections between their own Academic heritage and the Pythagoreans, they surely saw their work as being that of building upon Platonic foundations and further advancing Platonic researches. The truth was not something that lay in the past, but something expected to emerge with greater clarity in the future.

Antiochus of Ascalon, known to us primarily through the philosophical works of Cicero, was not constrained by the same notions of ancient wisdom, but regularly drew the distinction between the Old Academy and the New, implying that Arcesilaus' innovations were so fundamental that with him the Academy ceased to be the school that it had once been. It was this claim that caused Philo of Larissa, then the Scholarch, to write his 'Roman Books' in which the notion of two Academies was attacked. The thesis is most simply put at *Academica* 1.13 (= T. 30),⁵ from which it is clear that Philo's thesis responds to another claim that is already public, a claim that the Academy had, since Arcesilaus, abandoned the heritage of Plato. Claims of abandoned heritage always shock the official leaders of established organisations, and it falls upon them to respond. Antiochus' response to Philo's response was also one of shock (*Acad.* 2.11 = T. 29). Philo's thesis was more radical than anything that Antiochus

³ *Et quidem Arcesilaus tuus, etsi fuit in disserendo pertinacior, tamen noster fuit; erat enim Polemonis.*

⁴ Since Arcesilaus did not publish in his own name any evidence had to be oral.

⁵ I include the references in Brittain's collection of Testimonia, from an appendix in Brittain 2001.

was used to hearing, even though few Academics could have willingly admitted that their school had ever abrogated its former heritage.

12.2 Academic Continuity and Philo of Larissa

That the school had some ongoing mission, continuing from Plato down to Philo, is argued without any obvious signs that the view is contentious, by Cicero at *Acad.* 2.7–9. These chapters detail no ongoing school doctrine, for that would have been unthinkable for an orthodox Academic, but emphasise rather the intellectual freedom of the Academic tradition, a freedom that demands no adherence to an approved list of teachings. The validity of differences of opinion is forcefully maintained, the power of reason to guide is welcomed, and the aim is to get either to the hidden truth or somewhere close to it. The unity of the Academy is depicted as a unity of *culture*, which separates it from those schools whose rationale is rather the adherence to a set of doctrines. It is gratifying that Edward Watts has recently described the defining characteristic of the [Old] Academy in the following terms: ‘Ultimately one finds an Academy defined as much by the conduct and lifestyles of its current and former scholarchs as by the doctrines they taught.’⁶ Watts highlights the manner in which scholarchs and their rivals themselves moulded the historical legacy, so that they ‘worked to shape Plato’s historical legacy in ways that supported their own intellectual inclinations’.

Consequently Cicero’s version of a One Academy thesis early in the *Lucullus* is broadly correct. Speusippus felt under no obligation to adhere to doctrines bequeathed by Plato, differing sharply in both ethics and metaphysics. Nobody else felt an obligation to reproduce the system of Speusippus, and Xenocrates had doctrines of his own – though Xenocrates frequently resorted to the kind of mythical imagery that tended to veil anything distinctive in his views, for which reason he became a favourite of Plutarch’s. Naturally Xenocrates laid claim to Plato’s heritage, and sought to explain it, in the light of Aristotelian and Theophrastan criticisms, in a manner that he could endorse.⁷ Though Antiochus promoted the early successors, particularly Polemo, Numenius (fr. 24.6–12) will only admit that the *basic character* of the teaching remained broadly the same (ἀεὶ τὸ ἥθος διτείνεται τῶν δογμάτων σχεδὸν δὴ ταύτόν), insofar as ἐποχή and associated doctrines had not yet

⁶ Watts 2007: 122.

⁷ Here see in particular Horky 2013b.

been introduced, allowing that by their omissions and distortions 'they did not stick to their initial heritage'. Numenius correctly saw these scholars failing to adhere to a received body of doctrine, but he was wrong in assuming that the Academy's heritage must be judged in doctrinal terms.

12.3 A Revived Socraticism under Polemo?

As for Arcesilaus, he had for many years been prominent in the Academy before becoming scholarch somewhat unexpectedly, and there is no reason to assume that he saw himself as betraying his legacy. While he is sometimes seen as reviving the Socratic side of Plato, I believe that there was already a strong Socratic revival under Polemo,⁸ albeit not one that had any necessary connection with scepticism. Like Socrates, Polemo made little lasting contribution to anything but ethics, and Socrates became the archetype of the divinely inspired lover-educator upon whom Polemo, Crates and possibly Crantor too saw fit to model themselves. Love was 'a service to the gods for the care and salvation of the young', according to an influential definition of philosophic love attributed to Polemo by Plutarch.⁹ Polemo himself remembered the help and

⁸ Compare Alesse 2000: 85: 'A conferma del fatto che anche in Polemone poteramo scorgersi elementi di socratismo ...'.

⁹ Plut. *Mor.* 780d; see Dillon 2003: 165; Plutarch uses the imperfect tense, implying that it was a regular claim of Polemo, though in the context of *Theseus and Romulus Compared* (1.6) he used the same formula regarding Ariadne's heaven-sent love that preserved Theseus, treating it simply as a definition 'of the philosophers'. In the *Life of Alcibiades* (4) he uses the phrase without attribution to apply to Socrates' alleged love of Alcibiades, possibly influenced by the way it is characterised in the *Alcibiades I*. This concept of Socrates' role as lover is echoed at the beginning of Hermias' in *Phaedrum* (1.5–9): 'Socrates was sent down into generation for the benefit of the human race and of the souls of young persons. As there is much difference between souls in their characters and practices, he benefits each differently, the young in one way, sophists in another, stretching his hands out to all and exhorting them to practise philosophy.' While the key term σωτηρία does not appear there, Hermias uses it later in the context of Socratic love (pp. 10.22–8 Lucarini and Moreschini), while at the same time answering the criticism that Plato here uses argument *in utramque partem*, not denying this, but rather explaining how such use can be directed towards the attainment of truth. Since the salvation of Socratic love appears here in conjunction with a discussion of Arcesilaus' favourite tactic, the passage would perhaps be worth quoting in full: Πρὸς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον λεκτέον ὅτι εἰώθε Πλάτων τῶν ἀντικειμένων λόγων ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς εὕρεσιν καὶ βάσανον τῆς ἀληθείας· οὕτως καὶ ἐν <Πολιτείᾳ> κατὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης, <καὶ> ἐν <Σοφιστῇ> περὶ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος· καὶ νῦν οὖν κατ' ἔρωτος εἶπε πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀπομαχόμενος, δεικνύς ὅτι οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν ἔρωτος ἀλλ' ὕβρις καὶ πάθος τι ψυχῆς· ἄλλος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ὡς θεὸς Ἔρως, πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὦν χορηγὸς καὶ ἀναγωγεὺς τῶν ψυχῶν· ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἦν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπ' ἄμφω γυμνάσαι τοὺς περὶ ἔρωτος λόγους, ἐλέγχοντος τὴν δόξαν τῶν πολλῶν, διὰ τὸ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ἄμφω ρέπειν τὸν ἔρωτα.

care that Xenocrates had shown when rescuing him from his dissolute youth.¹⁰

Further, I have recently been examining another way in which the Academy under Polemo may have been reviving Socrates. A group of doubtful dialogues, comprising *Alcibiades 1*, *Alcibiades 2*, *Hipparchus*, *Theages* and *Minos* (though probably not *Erastai*)¹¹ shows common linguistic trends across a significant portion of each work that set them apart from most unquestionably genuine material. I have identified twenty-seven common words,¹² whose use is not dependent upon the subject matter or the manner of presentation, which tend to discriminate between these works and genuine material. This vocabulary mix tends not to be found in every part of the work, so that the problematic dialogues may incorporate some genuine material, may be written in a register that minimises the differences, or may simply be better imitations of Platonic style. In a previous publication, Terry Roberts and I argue that a group of such words much found in the relevant *dubia* had been increasing over time in Plato, and that another group seldom found in the *dubia* had been decreasing in late Plato.¹³ Hence, if the common linguistic peculiarities are attributable to changing language within Academic circles, then we are almost certainly dealing with post-Platonic language. I do not believe that all show the hand of the same author, and I cannot insist that all were written under the same scholarch, but if I am right in suggesting that they are, in their final form at least, post-Platonic, then they testify to a revival of interest in the Academy in Socrates, Socratic search for definitions, the educational purpose of Socratic love, and the

¹⁰ Note that Dillon here argues that the tradition is at pains to paint Polemo's relationship with Xenocrates as a more successful version of the relationship of Alcibiades with Socrates, with particular reference to the description of the garlanded Alcibiades of *Smp.* 212e, and to the tradition of prosecutions by their two wives regarding the pederastic activities of their husbands (D.L. 4.17, Plut. *Alc.* 8). A further point that might be mentioned is that Polemo is said by an Aristippus to have 'fallen in love with Xenocrates' (D.L. 4.19), when age might have led one to expect that Xenocrates would have been the lover; this recalls Alcibiades' remarks about Socrates at *Smp.* 217e–219d and especially 222b. In view of these similarities it is not surprising that Polemo's definition of philosophic love is mentioned by Plutarch at *Alc.* 4, though quite appropriately of the philosopher, for Polemo would have thought of it as applying to the care that Xenocrates had shown to him rather than vice versa.

¹¹ The issue of the *Erastai* is harder to settle because of its narrative form, which seems to imitate that of *Charmides* and *Lysis*, making direct comparison with other *dubia* less reliable; its failure to name interlocutors is reminiscent of *Hipparchus*, *Minos* and some of the *spuria*. I argue that its position in the corpus results from a confusion with *Theages*, which sometimes bore the same subtitle, *On Philosophy* (περί φιλοσοφίας), which results from the corruption of its correct subtitle, *On Wisdom* (περί σοφίας); see Tarrant 2013b: 20–2.

¹² Both T-tests and the identification of the most important variables by factor analysis were employed for this purpose.

¹³ See Tarrant and Roberts 2012; additional analysis is now available in Tarrant 2013b: 11–20.

relationship between philosophy and power. I have previously argued that it is easiest to locate such a revival in the earlier years of Polemo's Academy.¹⁴ Here is just one example of the results of cluster analysis, in which the Minitab program classified 500-word blocks¹⁵ from relevant *dubia* (with *Erastai* included), *Apology*, *Charmides*, *Laches* and *Hippias Minor*,¹⁶ separating them into four clusters (Table 12.1):¹⁷

Table 12.1 *Distribution of 500-word blocks of selected dialogues*

F26 analysis 500 w					
Dialogue	no. blocks	cluster 1	cluster 3	cluster 2	cluster 4
<i>Alc. 1</i>	20	5	2	12	1
<i>Alc. 2</i>	8	3	0	1	4
<i>Hipparch.</i>	4	3	0	0	1
<i>Amat.</i>	4	3	0	0	0
<i>Thg.</i>	6	1	3	2	0
<i>Min.</i>	5	3	1	1	0
<i>Ap.</i>	17	14	3	0	0
<i>Chrm.</i>	16	9	2	1	4
<i>La.</i>	15	9	5	0	1
<i>Hp. Mi.</i>	8	7	0	0	1
Total		57	16	17	12
Genuine	48	32	10	1	5
Suspect	47	18	6	16	6
<i>Hp. Mi.</i>	8	7	0	0	1
percentage of available blocks attributed to that cluster					
Genuine		66.7	20.8	2.1	10.4
Suspect		31.6	10.5	28.1	10.5
<i>Hp. Mi.</i>		87.5	0.0	0.0	12.5

¹⁴ See Tarrant 2005a, 131–55; also Tarrant 2006/7.

¹⁵ The final block of any work may extend to 999 words.

¹⁶ The *Hippias Minor* behaves in different ways on different tests, and is not here *assumed* to be genuine. There is more work to be done in this regard.

¹⁷ The analysis uses standardised data, twenty-six common words as variables, and Ward's method.

While these tests can only demonstrate similarities, not authorship or date, some explanation needs to be offered for the ways in which parts of the dialogues from tetralogy 4.1 to 5.1 (excluding *Erastai*) both stand out from most of the corpus and do so in similar ways. The origin of some of these dialogues, and particularly of the *Alcibiades 2*, has been linked in recent scholarship with Arcesilaus or with the New Academy in general.¹⁸

While there is interest in these *dubia* in *elenchos*, in Socratic love, in searching for a definition, and in Socratic education more broadly, I see no interest in either argument *in utramque partem* or long-term suspension of judgement. They focus largely on Socrates the helpful, insightful, often loving mentor, keen to employ conversation so as to discover and to communicate the truth, and not afraid to reveal what he believes. What is important is that it suggests an interest in the *educational potential* of Plato's earlier works in which Socrates learns along with his interlocutors, an interest that will be an important part of the background of Arcesilaus' rise to the scholarchate.

Whether or not it was as Socratic as I am suggesting, our picture of the Academy under Polemo, as detailed by Philodemus and by Diogenes, is one of an extended family linked in a common endeavour rather than of a doctrine factory. This seems to me to be appropriate, given that Plato himself was prepared to modify many of his views if not actually to reverse them. I find it unthinkable that Plato's legacy should have already become a fixed and immutable system, and I suspect that we may have come to exaggerate the extent to which Xenocrates' legacy involved the systematisation of Plato. If he had tried, perhaps, to offer a schematic explanation of the physics and metaphysics to which the Academy was heading in Plato's later years, this did not obscure the fact that there was another side of Plato to be explored, developed and learned from. In short, the Old Academy could not have depended for its unity, like the Stoic and Epicurean schools, upon any commitment to promote and build upon a single set of doctrines associated with its founder. All had doctrines, and all were indebted to Plato, but this did not involve doctrinal uniformity.

¹⁸ John Dillon (2012b) dates both *Alcibiades 2* and *Hipparchus* to the New Academy, while Aldo Magris (1992) interestingly suggests that *Alcibiades 2* was written by Arcesilaus himself before he became scholarch; for a classic article on the possibility of Arcesilaus' involvement in the production of spurious works see Carlini 1962. In Tarrant (forthcoming) I come to the conclusion that Crantor is a likelier author than Arcesilaus.

12.4 Doctrinal Unity as a Criterion of School Unity

The problem for Philo was that by his day Hellenistic expectations of a school were imposed upon the Academy. The portrait of an Academy in revolt being promoted by Antiochus and Numenius was anachronistic, assuming that a school's identity must depend upon loyalty to basic tenets of its founder. *Academica* 2.7–9 offers a different kind of identity, but Philo had to do more. The Roman market demanded insights into the great era of innovative philosophy, and into the most respected of Greek minds. Hence, Cicero shows that they wanted Zeno, not Chrysippus; Aristotle, not Theophrastus; and Plato, not any subsequent Academic. If Philo, as scholarch, were to reconnect the Mediterranean world with Plato, he needed to claim more than adherence to a Platonic spirit of enquiry. And if being a *legitimate* successor was to mean much, he had also to claim that Arcesilaus, Carneades and Clitomachus were legitimate parts of that same tradition: to defend the ongoing Academic tradition while persuading the Romans that Plato offered important lessons that he (Philo) had the authority to place before them. *Academica* 1.44–6 would not suffice for this purpose. So we are left with no full statement of Philo's position, which Cicero was in any case reluctant to endorse. We are left to piece it together out of fragmentary evidence, and to require that it must accord with Philo's mature epistemology. We know that it was highly controversial, and led to talk of a lie. Antiochus and others believed that Philo was lying not about Plato but about Plato's recent successors: *minus enim acer est adversarius is qui ista quae sunt heri defensa negat Academicos omnino dicere* (*Acad.* 2.12). That means that the One Academy thesis of Philo was assimilating recent Academics to Plato rather than vice versa. Philo's epistemological stance, which is certainly open to somewhat different explanations,¹⁹ was that things were not non-apprehensible in their own right, but only when measured against the Stoic criterion (*S.E. P.* 1.235). And if they were not non-apprehensible then an Academic should perhaps not despair of apprehending some of them.²⁰ Furthermore, if they did apprehend them they should surely have

¹⁹ Another who is prepared to bypass the debate on part of this testimony, and to concentrate on its main thrust, is David Sedley (2012b: 85); I would be reluctant, however, to fully endorse Sedley's understanding of it.

²⁰ According to Sedley's position, which grounds Philo's stance in the inability of human faculties to apprehend, the Academic could not expect to get far along the cognitive path qua human beings, but in this case, to the extent that he could 'assimilate himself to god' (cf. *Thet.* 176a–b) he might expect to go further. After all, knowledge regarding such assimilation is dubbed 'true wisdom and virtue' (*Thet.* 176c4) in a dialogue that has already assimilated wisdom to knowledge (145e).

views of their own and give guidance where required. Philo needed a picture of the Academy that would not run counter to known facts about recent scholars, but one that would not represent the school as *embracing* ignorance. Such an approach would divorce this guidance from the public stance of the scholars, and a brief exchange with an imagined Philonian opponent at *Academica* 2.60 gives a polemical hint of a strategy. The Academics are asked what they have discovered. They reply that it is not their custom to reveal this. This draws a twofold question from Lucullus: 'What are these mysteries, or why do you conceal your view (*sententiam*) as if it were something disreputable?' The former question goes unanswered; the latter is explained by the need to force pupils to use reason rather than authority.

It is usually assumed that the reference here to 'mysteries' is a malicious reference to secret doctrine,²¹ such that the Academic scholars could not have had if one accepts the evidence for Arcesilaus and Carneades. Yet the noun *sententia* is curiously weak for any quasi-religious doctrine involved in the promulgation of an Academic rite. The term 'mysteries' suggests above all arcane *practices*, of which something shown or taught would only be a part.²²

12.5 The Possessors of the Books

In fragment 21 of the *Academica posteriora* Augustine tells us that Cicero said the Academics 'had had the habit of concealing their own view (again *sententia*), and not revealing it to anybody except those who had lived with them *right up to old age*'.²³ There could be a certain truth here, because we are well aware that Arcesilaus was brought up in an institution where the successor did live constantly with the scholar (D.L. 4.22). Crates was being personally groomed for the job by Polemo, with whom he lived at the house of Lysicles. Arcesilaus, living rather with

²¹ Secret rites may be suspected of acting as a cover for base practices, as often in the Roman world.

²² This should be obvious if one compares Theon of Smyrna's detailed depiction of philosophy as a sacred rite at *Intr.* 12–14. It is indeed the case that teaching will there be associated with the second of five stages, but rites involve preparatory stages, a stage of fulfilment, and further mechanisms by which those who have made the journey may hand the rite on to others. 'Mysteries' would primarily involve an Academic way of perpetuating the school's heritage, a way that was hidden from the ordinary observer.

²³ That 'living with' here means something more fulfilling than simply sharing the same roof is strongly suggested by comparison with *Acad.* 2.115: *qui mecum vivit tot annos, qui habitat apud me, ...*, and Cicero himself imagines that he has 'lived with' Socrates and Plato (and is thus qualified to speak about them) at *Acad.* 2.74; another Academic text to idealise living with Platonic philosophy is *Epistle* 7.341c6–7. I hope to have more to say about this ideal at a later date.

Crantor, was being groomed rather for the not insignificant role that Crantor was playing, a different role from that of the scholarch. It was not planned that Arcesilaus should take on the latter role, since Socratides seems to have been earmarked as Crates' successor (D.L. 4.32); Crates, whose tenure of office was very brief, had perhaps not groomed Socratides for long enough. If only we listen, the sources tell us which job Arcesilaus was groomed for and for a while held; it was keeper of Plato's books: ὁ κекτημένος τὰ βιβλία (D.L. 4.33), who would charge those wanting to read through the newly edited corpus (D.L. 3.66). And presumably the editing had itself been undertaken by whoever held that office. I believe that we can easily name its first holder.

Philip of Opus is credited with having prepared the *Laws* for publication after Plato had left them 'malleable',²⁴ i.e. in an uncorrected and disorganised state (ἀδιορθώτους ... καὶ συγκεχυμένους), since the dying Plato had not found time to put them together (πρὸς τὸ συνθεῖναι αὐτούς, Anon. *Proleg.* 24.13–16).²⁵ Philip's role regarding *Laws* is in fact perfectly captured by the term ἀναγραφεὺς, applied by Philodemus to a figure usually held to be Philip.²⁶ It is widely forgotten that this noun and the verb ἀναγράφω were in Plato's time primarily *legal* terms, applying to the making of official records or the promulgation of laws.²⁷ I envisage Philip's role as being linked rather closely with the picture of the remaining tasks outlined in *Laws* 9.858b2–c1, where Cleinias is responding to the Stranger's observation at 857a that they have failed to work out the basics of lawgiving so far:

We are able, thank god, just like stonemasons or somebody starting some other construction (συστάσις), to bring in materials at random (χύδην) from which we shall select what is required for the construction that is about to arise, and indeed to select them at leisure. Let us then presume that we are not among those who are building something under compulsion, but among those who in their leisure are still stockpiling (παρατιθέναι) some materials and combining others. So it is right to say that some of the laws are already laid down, while others are stockpiled.²⁸

²⁴ My translation of the phrase 'in wax' (ἐν κηρῷ, D.L. 3.37).

²⁵ The general thrust of 24.13–16 is supported by the quotation from Proclus at 25.6–7; earlier evidence is found in Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 370f.

²⁶ *Index Academicorum* 3.38–9: γεγονώς ἀναγραφεὺς τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ ἀκουστής.

²⁷ Plato uses the verb six times in the *Laws*, in the very books where legislation is most concentrated (6.784c, d, e; 8.850a; 9.917e; 12.947b), chiefly in the former sense, but otherwise only at *Grg.* 506c ('enlist') and *Meno* 83b ('draw').

²⁸ ἡμῖν δ' – εἰπεῖν σὺν θεῷ – ἔξεστι, καθάπερ ἡ λιθολόγοις ἡ καὶ τινος ἐτέρας ἀρχομένοις συστάσεως, παραφορήσασθαι χύδην ἐξ ὧν ἐκλεξόμεθα τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ μελλούσῃ γενήσεσθαι συστάσει, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκλέξασθαι. τιθώμεν οὖν ἡμᾶς νῦν εἶναι μὴ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἰκοδομοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἔτι τὰ μὲν παρατιθεμένους, τὰ δὲ συνιστάντας· ὥστε ὁρθῶς ἔχει τὰ μὲν ἤδη τῶν νόμων λέγειν ὡς τιθέμενα, τὰ δ' ὡς παρατιθέμενα.

As the *Prolegomena* suggests, the genesis of the legislation has been rather haphazard, for though much material has been assembled for the construction, the totality is as yet not taking shape very fast. It would not be at all surprising if Plato's assistant found himself left with a partially constructed edifice and some work to do in deciding exactly which materials were to fit where.

Assuming that Philip himself wrote the *Epinomis*, as ancient tradition usually claimed, my methods of computational stylistics would make Philip rather than Plato *primarily* responsible for the *working vocabulary*²⁹ of the books with most legislation in them. It was at first thought that there were *three* hands in the *Laws*, but careful separation of the technical language of legislation in books 4–6 and 8–9 proved that it was the dominance of such language that accounted for the bizarre results that some portions of the later books (and all of 11) were yielding. Cluster analysis, again using Ward's method and standardised data (ninety-seven variables)³⁰ produced the following results:³¹

By comparison with works such as the *Sophist*, *Statesman* and *Philebus* it was established that what I mark as the 'Plato cluster' is plausibly close to the vocabulary of late Plato more generally.³² My assumption is that where the style (as determined in this case by working vocabulary)³³

²⁹ Note that this says nothing about the thought, nor does it say anything directly about other aspects of style. However, since the *Cratylus* treats the word as the building block of speech, it is a fundamental aspect of style.

³⁰ As used for analysis across the Platonic corpus; however, by late works a very few of these words have dropped out of the commonest 300, and therefore no longer qualified as common vocabulary.

³¹ In this analysis the passage (903b4–905d1) treated as a 'myth' by R. Stalley (2009) was treated separately, while all that followed it is given the name 'ending'.

³² I exclude the bulk of the *Timaeus–Critias*, which has been shown to be written in a distinctly different voice or register associated with myth: see Tarrant et al. 2011.

³³ Overall vocabulary is determined principally during the initial writing-up of the material, whereas further efforts to avoid hiatus or unpopular rhythms at the end of the sentence may belong rather to a final editing process. However, if one employs the figures for the relative frequencies of the various clausulae given by Leonard Brandwood (1990: 169), and subjects them to the same method of cluster analysis as the vocabulary, *Laws* 1 is grouped with *Philebus* and *Statesman*, *Laws* 2, 3 and 10 forming another closely related cluster; furthest removed from them are books 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12, while books 4 and 5, while in a cluster of their own, are somewhat closer to this last group than to 1–3 and 10. The only surprise here is that 4 and 7 looked less typically Platonic than in the vocabulary analysis. Figures for hiatus, both cross-punctuation and without punctuation, were also available for the late dialogues, but the situation here is complicated because hiatus is not similarly avoided in legal formulae; the proximity of 2, 3 and 10 was again in evidence here. In fact 1, 2, 3, 8 and 10 all had rates of total hiatus between 9.3 and 9.9 per 100 word-breaks, exceeded only by 5 and 9 (10.2, 10.3) where the presence of legislation may have inflated the figure slightly. *Epinomis* in this case has a very low figure (7.6) reminiscent mainly of non-*Laws* 'late' Plato, such as *Sophist* (7.2) and *Critias* (8.1), so that we should expect the most relaxed attitude to hiatus to be detected where the input of the aging Plato is at its most direct. The methods

Table 12.2 *Cluster distribution of blocks of Laws and Epinomis*

Book	No. of blocks	Plato cluster	<i>Epinomis</i> cluster	Legal cluster
1	4	1, 3, 4	2	
2	3	1, 2, 3		
3	4	1, 2, 3, 4		
4*	3	1, 2, 3		
5*	3		1, 2, 3	
6*	5		1, 2, 3, 4, 5	
4–6 legal	1			1
7	6	1, 3, 4, 6	2, 5	
8*	3	2	1, 3	
9*	3	1	2, 3	
8–9 legal	2			1, 2
10	5	1, 2, 3	Myth, ending	
11	4			1, 2, 3, 4
12	4	4	2	1, 3
<i>Epinomis</i>	3		1, 2, 3	

* Books 4–6, 8 and 9 exclude legislative material placed in 'legal' files.

closely resembles the *Epinomis*, then Philip has had an important role in writing the material up, even though Plato may ordinarily have exercised final editorial control. Plato would then turn out to have personally written up the parts closest to his main interests (most of 1–4, much of 7 on education, most of 10 on theology and the end of 12 on the Nocturnal Council), entrusting the writing-up of matters of practical legislation to Philip.

employed by G. R. Ledger (1989) do not clearly distinguish between late Plato and *Epinomis*, which he accordingly regards as genuine, though some blocks of *Laws* are misclassified as *Epinomis* or *Epistle 7*: these are (table 8.4 (p. 110): thirty-seven variables) Book II sample 1, III s. 5, IX s. 7 (into *Epinomis*), Book I sample 5, V s. 4, X s. 6, XII s. 7 (into *Epistle 7*); more misclassifications of this type occur in table 8.8 (p. 116: ten variables). I shall not offer a rationale for this here as I cannot endorse the letter (unlike words and rhythms) as a natural unit of style, and while some of the results seem meaningful they appear to me to lack sufficient precision and to be too tenuously linked with either chronology or authorship.

This picture of a work to which two hands contribute agrees well with the notion that Plato never found time to organise it personally, and that Philip had to provide both editing and structure. And it also agrees with the description of Philip as Plato's ἀναγραφεύς, in one or both of two senses – as a 'promulgator' of laws and the like, and/or as 'recorder'. The former sense would be natural if one were to take the term as one that had been applied to Philip by Plato's contemporaries,³⁴ while the latter suits Philodeman usage of the verb ἀναγράφειν in the *Academica*, where it is used for the activities of those who recorded, or wrote up, the discussions that had occurred within the school,³⁵ especially in the classes of Carneades (XXII 38, XXIII 5), but also in those of Arcesilaus (XX 44) and Telecles (O 33). The noun ἀναγραφὴ seems to have been applied to Plato's own popular success in recording the arguments of Socrates (I 8–15). Either sense would suit my view of Philip as somebody actively 'writing up' discussions within Plato's school and finally publishing Plato's legislation.

A perennial puzzle concerning Philip is why he should have been described as a Platonic 'successor' (διάδοχος τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ διδασκαλείου) in the anonymous *Prolegomena* (24.18). Could it perhaps be that this is not an erroneous reference to his having become 'scholarch' of the 'Academy' (words that are not in fact used), but recognition that it was he who took over representing the now absent Plato in a rather different manner? Philip had a role in assisting to promote the work of Plato by organising his latest endeavours, in offering some interpretative thoughts in the *Epinomis*, and more generally in explaining Plato (perhaps in an orientalising fashion) and supplementing his biography.³⁶ Ultimately it is this kind of work that kept Platonism alive in antiquity. Activity centred as it is on Plato and his works is only thinly attested in the more substantial remains of the early scholarchs: Speusippus, Xenocrates and Polemo.³⁷ An *Encomium of Plato* in the list of Speusippus'

³⁴ See Lysias in *Nicom.* [30] 2.4–5: ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν νόμων ἀναγραφεύς ἐγένετο, and less obviously 25.1–2: ὃς καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναγραφεύς γενόμενος; LSJ cite also *IG* 1.61, 2.192c.

³⁵ My attention was first brought to this material by the Athens presentation of Myrto Hatzimichali.

³⁶ See Horky 2009, especially 48–9, 94–7. A work on Plato is postulated by the *Suda*.

³⁷ While I am inclined to see the history of philosophy offered by Varro in the *Posterior Academics* (1.19–32), and designed to draw attention to the position of the 'Old Academy', as a reasonably informed sketch of the kind of doctrine that prevailed under Polemo, as maintained (particularly in relation to the physical chapters) by David Sedley (2002, and also 2012b), *contra* Brad Inwood (2012: 203–5), I have no expectation that Polemo himself would have been the source of this sketch, since nearly everything we read of Polemo is at some distance from the man's *ipsisima verba*.

works (D.L. 4.4–5) scarcely amounts to Platonic exegesis, while Xenocrates' basic interpretation of the psychogony in the *Timaeus* (Mor. 1012d–13b = fr. 188 I-P) probably reached Plutarch via Crantor's commentary, which Proclus declares to have been the first (*in Ti.* 1.76.1). There is no work devoted to Plato in Diogenes' list (D.L. 4.11–14), though works devoted to Parmenides and the Pythagoreans do appear there. And Aristotle (*Cael.* 1.9.279b32 = Xenocrates fr. 153 I-P) and his scholiasts (fr. 155–7 I-P) make it plain that though Xenocrates and perhaps Speusippus³⁸ maintained that the creation motif in the *Timaeus* was an expository device, they did so in the course of *defending* the Platonic view (βοηθεῖαν ἐπιχειροῦσι φέρειν ἑαυτοῖς) in inter-school debate and rivalry, an activity that obviously suited the scholarch. Phillip Horky, in tackling the interaction between Xenocrates and the Peripatetics, has described Xenocrates' Platonist project quite precisely: 'Xenocrates ... (a) took it upon himself to establish a Platonic doctrine that could be associated with his master's writings and (b) coordinated that doctrine with the philosophical precepts of the Pythagoreans.'³⁹ Xenocrates of course wanted to have the means to pursue his Pythagorising project in a way that could be seen to connect with Plato's writings, and to cement his position as legitimate successor of Plato by making judicious use of collective memory, the biographical tradition and written texts. What I claim he did not do was to explicate the content of the writings independently of that agenda and for their own sake.

Though only nine fragments survive, we do find Hermodorus writing a book *On Plato* (fr. 7–8 I-P, cf. fr. 4–5), which was exegetical in nature, explaining the 'Platonic' theory of matter in detail and apparently with an eye on the *Philebus* (fr. 7–8). He is also associated with the dissemination of Platonic *logoi* (fr. 1, 3), which Cicero identifies with Plato's books (fr. 2). The precise activities that led to the saying λόγοισιν Ἑρμοδώρου are not recoverable, but somehow Hermodorus was trading in Plato. Perhaps Hermodorus continued Philip's editorial activities, since it is after the first ἔκδοσις of Plato's works that the 'possessors of the books' are reported to have charged fees to those wanting a complete reading of

³⁸ The evidence for Speusippus is that of a scholiast (fr. 54b Lang = Tarán F61b = F95 I-P), and has been disputed, e.g. Baltes 1976: 18–22; it is accepted by L. Tarán (1981: 383–6), while John Dillon (2003: 53) speaks of Speusippus' 'deconstruction of the myth of the *Timaeus*'. I favour a cautious acceptance of the scholiast's evidence, mindful of the fact that the interest of our sources did not lie in 'the reconstruction of the theories of Xenocrates and Speusippus' (Isnardi Parente 1981b: 375, 'non della ricostruzione delle teorie di Senocrate e Speusippo').

³⁹ See Horky 2013b: 689.

part of the corpus.⁴⁰ And interestingly Hermodorus shared Philip's mathematical interests and his interest in the Platonisation of Zoroastrianism. Might there be a more direct connection between them perhaps?

The next figure known to work on Plato's oeuvre was Crantor,⁴¹ as the first to be called his 'exegete' by Proclus. Certainly he is known to have had views on the nature of the Atlantis story, as well as various aspects of psychogony of the *Timaeus*. He may also have expressed views about the range of functions that a dialogue's prooemion may have,⁴² and I suspect that he did so in relation to the *Theaetetus*.⁴³ Arcesilaus was his great friend, sharing his house (D.L. 4.22), according to tradition as his junior partner (ἐρώμενος). He seems to have worked further on writings begun by Crantor (D.L. 4.24, 32),⁴⁴ and inherited his fortune (4.25). Whatever else happened, he 'had come into the possession of Plato's books' (4.32), probably as a young man,⁴⁵ and in my view at the death of Crantor (whether 290 or 276 BC). Though I read a lot into this information, no such statements are made regarding the scholarchs, and the 'possessors' are surely not to be identified with the scholarchs at D.L. 3.66 (from Antigonius of Carystus' *Life of Zeno*).

It may be thought that all necessary organisation of the Platonic corpus, as undertaken with regard to about one quarter of it by Philip, was completed long before Crantor arrived on the scene. However, my impression is that even Plato's complete writings had been left in need of organisational work, not least because some had been left neglected, while others existed in alternative versions.⁴⁶ An 'authorised version' was required, which may well have left some authentic material from discarded versions outside the final corpus. Any difficulties with the high-profile works would have been fixed first. Lower-profile dialogues of a broadly 'Socratic' character would have been left until last, but once their serious study began a new consciousness of the Socratic legacy would

⁴⁰ I believe that the corpus was at this time published in four groups of twelve books, with the *Laws* counting as twelve, and the *Republic* with *Timaeus–Critias* as another twelve.

⁴¹ For Crantor see Mette 1984.

⁴² See here Sedley 1999, where he discusses the close of book 1 of Proc. in *Prm.*, employing a source that should seemingly be dated not long after Theophrastus.

⁴³ See Tarrant 2013a.

⁴⁴ Here is perhaps an argument against attributing Arcesilaus' failure to write philosophic works to any commitment to 'scepticism', for Crantor's works were presumably of a fairly didactic nature, and he can have had no qualms overall about publishing such material.

⁴⁵ This relies on a very probable supplement at the equivalent point in Philodemus' account (νέος ὢν, Phld. *Acad. Ind.* XIX 14–16).

⁴⁶ See Tarrant 2012b, for *Republic* and (less worryingly) *Gorgias*; see Sedley 2003b: 6–16, for *Cratylus*; see Anon. in *Th.* 3.28–37 and Tarrant 2010.

have emerged among those most concerned with the public profile of the corpus, Arcesilaus among them. Dialogues like *Charmides*, *Lysis*, *Euthydemus*,⁴⁷ *Protagoras* and *Meno* employed tactics, including argument *pro* and *contra*, which could contribute to the Academic armoury. It was not contrary to Academic heritage to employ them.

It is not clear what provision was made for any role inherited from Crantor when Arcesilaus became scholarch, but we are told that, after Arcesilaus, Lacydes had handed the school down during his own lifetime to Telecles and Evander, and this may be further evidence of some kind of double tradition either persisting, or being re-established after Arcesilaus' joint tenure. At any rate it was only Evander who handed down the scholarch's position to Hegesinus, from whom it passed to Carneades. Carneades himself seems to have groomed Clitomachus for the job (D.L. 4.67). As we draw closer to Cicero's time, there continued to be some voice of stature within the school with an authority to rival that of the scholarch, for Metrodorus of Stratonicea⁴⁸ seems sometimes to have been listened to at the expense of the scholarch Clitomachus.

Philo of Larissa's name as leader of the so-called Fourth Academy is coupled with that of Charmadas as if this were some kind of partnership (Sextus, *P* 1.222 = T v, Eus. *PE* 14.4 = T vii), even though chronology does not allow Charmadas to have *succeeded* Philo,⁴⁹ nor can Charmadas have been a student of Philo, for apart from his seniority and personal knowledge of Carneades, it is clear that Antiochus studied longer than anybody with Philo.⁵⁰ Charmadas cannot have been significantly lower than Philo in the ranks of the Academy, and since we hear of Charmadas

⁴⁷ The first three are appealed to by an Academic argument regarding Plato's inclination towards suspension of judgement at Anon. *Proleg.* 10.16–20; Neoplatonists insisted that the ultimate aim of such opposite arguments was the truth (ibid. 10.22), and the tactic is used even by the Neoplatonist Hermias at *in Phdr.* 9.19–20 (πρὸς εὐρεσιν καὶ βάσανον τῆς ἀληθείας). The position of Philo of Larissa was not dissimilar, to judge from Cic. *Acad.* 2.7, 2.60. That such dialogues could have been useful to Arcesilaus and others does not of course mean that they read a restricted corpus, as is pointed out by Carlos Lévy (2013).

⁴⁸ On Metrodorus, Lacydes and Charmadas see Lévy 2005.

⁴⁹ Charmadas seems to be dead by 91 BC; see Dorandi 1999a: 31–5; this section is useful for the many tricky issues of chronology regarding the principal figures of the Academy.

⁵⁰ See Cicero, *Acad.* 2.69 = Philo, test. 13 Brittain; I strongly suspect that for many of these years Antiochus had the expectation of inheriting the headship. While it is technically possible for Antiochus, if joining Philo soon after his accession in 110 BC, to have exceeded the number of years Charmadas spent with him before his death, the argument is really about the number of years spent studying standard New Academic theory at all (*ut constaret diutius didicisse neminem*), and Charmadas had already done this long before Philo's accession. Note too here that Antiochus is said to have written about that theory most observantly (*acutissime*), which suggests that perhaps this was not what Charmadas was most engaged with.

engaging in the teaching of Platonic texts (and not the least ‘dogmatic’ of them),⁵¹ while nothing similar is reported of Philo, one may perhaps deduce that Charmadas had inherited a role almost as important as Philo’s but more closely bound up with the study of Plato. Furthermore, there is good reason, I believe, to see Charmadas’ role as being part of Philo’s case for the unity of the Academic tradition. The position associated with the ‘Fourth Academy’ was a position that appears never to have been openly propounded until Philo’s Roman books, and yet it is a position credited to Charmadas along with Philo *even though Charmadas was no longer alive*. Just as an outsider is unlikely to be crediting Polemo with equal responsibility for the position that Arcesilaus adopted only on becoming scholarch, so too outsiders would not, without good reason, be holding Charmadas as equally responsible for the position adopted by Philo after 88 BC – unless Philo had himself made such an attribution.

Furthermore, seemingly some time after Philo had died and the official scholarch’s position had perhaps died with him,⁵² there is one other individual consistently known as an ‘Academic’ without qualification and with no traceable connection with Antiochus. This is Eudorus of Alexandria, an individual still much involved in explaining Plato’s text, as may be seen from fragments in Plutarch’s essay *De animae procreatione*, working more critically with Aristotelian texts, and tackling the Pythagorean background to Plato. Perhaps, then, the lower profile role of ‘possessor of the books’ had endured beyond even Charmadas to the shadowy figure of Eudorus, who is habitually seen today as a ‘Platonist’ beyond all else.⁵³ This would be speculation indeed, but in the context of Eudorus it is hardly a bad case of speculation, for it actually explains why all of us, in the light of the evidence, somehow feel entitled to number Eudorus among Platonists, and why he himself seems to have embraced the title ‘Academic’.

⁵¹ I have discussed the evidence of Cicero, *De oratore* 1.45–7 and 84–94, where Charmadas uses the *Gorgias* as a teaching text and also appeals to the *Phaedrus*, in Tarrant 1985: 37–40. For a more recent discussion see also Lévy 2005.

⁵² That it died with him is implied by Cicero, *Acad.* 2.17 = Philo, test. 4 Brittain. However, a successor (whose name is not clearly preserved) may be implied by Philodemus, *Acad. Ind.* XXXIV 1–6, of which I have been fortunate enough to see a recent photograph.

⁵³ In recent times, since the chapter in Dillon 1977, Mauro Bonazzi has done more than any other scholar to fathom the mysteries that surround the peculiarly incoherent collection of fragments that Eudorus has left us; see for instance Bonazzi 2005. Several articles have recently dealt with his approach to Aristotle, including Bonazzi 2013. Also Chiaradonna 2013; Chiaradonna 2009; and finally Tarrant 2008. Note that the words ‘Platonist’ and ‘Platonism’ seem so appropriate in the case of Eudorus that one or the other appears in the title of every work cited in this note.

12.6 Conclusion

There are a great many difficulties in the ancient evidence for the Academy that could be well explained in terms of two separate offices, the one more public and not centrally linked with Platonic scholarship, the other less high-profile and concerned with Plato's written heritage. I believe that it is largely to such a division of public and Platonic roles that Philo had appealed in his One Academy thesis. It could be argued that Plato and argument *in utramque partem* had always existed side by side in the Academy. If Arcesilaus took this cautious approach somewhat further and refused to reveal his own hand as scholarch at all, that was understandable, and the tactic had good Socratic precedents. One can imagine that in old age he might have dropped his guard and at least let his successor know of how he had been influenced by the division of roles and even, to some degree, where he really stood on the key issues. The division between the public spokesman and Platonic teacher, I believe, was still alive in Philo's day, when Charmadas had certainly been teaching Plato's *Gorgias* even though Philo is not known to have promoted Plato in any special way. The two are sometimes mentioned together as if they constituted the joint leadership of the Fourth Academy. With the break-up of the school, Philo no longer needed to keep the Academy's long-standing arrangements, as he understood them, secret. So at Rome he finally explained. Antiochus, who had possibly failed to follow Philo long enough or loyally enough, never heard this before. Perhaps this reflected a decision on Philo's part to avoid adopting Antiochus as his successor, or perhaps it was recognition that the Academy had no further future in its original form. Antiochus did not like what he heard, but this does not mean that it was wrong. Appeals to a secret tradition were always hard either to refute or to substantiate. In the tough world of Roman educational politics, one believed them only if it suited one.

Believing in such a tradition has suited virtually nobody in modern times, but that is partly because it is seen as concerning esoteric *dogmatism*. Nobody ever made such a claim, only the claim that the public face of the Academy, as projected beyond its walls by the scholarch, did not reveal the full extent of its internal practices and of its commitment to what it saw as Plato's heritage. The heritage did not consist of Transcendent Forms, the Idea of the Good, a God who is in some sense a 'creator', and a world-soul arranged according to principles of harmony. Its central commitment was to ongoing enquiry, with a view to getting as

close as possible to the truth, but with a commitment to constantly revisiting any conclusions that one had reached.

The vast majority of scholars have preferred to believe Antiochus' polemic concerning a break in the early Academic tradition when Arcesilaus assumed the headship of the school. But that break in tradition is postulated upon a change in the fundamentals of Academic epistemology, and there is simply no evidence that the early Academy had ever made Academic continuity dependent on doctrinal continuity. Further, even to speak of doctrine in the case of Arcesilaus is problematic. Tactics may have changed, and Arcesilaus may have adjusted his picture of Academic heritage to suit his own ends, but this was what every major scholar had done up until that point. Everything points towards his continuing loyalty to what he learned from Crantor, and Crantor was no dissident Academic. I suspect that Arcesilaus was no dissident Academic either, at least in his own mind and in the minds of those who succeeded him. Those who succeeded him included Philo, and Philo had every right to question Antiochus' self-serving distinction between an Old Academy, going down to Polemo and Crates, and a New Academy, beginning with Arcesilaus. I suspect that neither case was wholly correct, but that the greater historical truth was with the One Academy thesis propounded by Philo.

12.7 Postscript: The Arcesilaus Monster

Everybody who deals with Arcesilaus knows that Aristo of Chios, modifying Homer's description of the Chimaera (*Iliad* 6.181), referred to Arcesilaus as 'Plato before, Pyrrho behind, Diodorus in the middle' (D.L. 4.33). While those who take my view might emphasise the Platonic portion, others will rightly counter by drawing attention to the mention of Pyrrho. But the key question is how we should explain this order, something not easily settled with reference to the Homeric original. It is satisfactory for my case if it implies that the public face that Arcesilaus offered remained Platonic. However, Numenius fr. 25 suggests that he understood it as having a chronological explanation. Numenius has drawn attention to the fact that Zeno and Arcesilaus had both been associates of Polemo (Πολέμωνος γνώριμοι), and explained their rivalry in this way. In detailing the sources of their weapons it is said that 'Arcesilaus had Theophrastus and Crantor the Platonist and Diodorus, then (εἴτα, 25.16) Pyrrho'. We know that the list begins in chronological order since Crantor won over Arcesilaus from Theophrastus, and the order

Crantor–Diodorus–Pyrrho is then repeated without mention of Theophrastus in detailing the alleged influence of each (25.16–19), and this leads on to Aristo’s Homeric witticism. It is most unlikely that Arcesilaus became a close associate of either Diodorus or Pyrrho at the death of Crantor, and it seems that both Diodorus and Pyrrho were dead by the time of Arcesilaus’ succession. The order, if chronological at all, would have to be one of influences, and not necessarily of influences that he would have acknowledged. Two fragments of Timon, also given at D.L. 4.33, talk of an Arcesilaus who *will go* (θεύσεται, νήξομαι) across to Pyrrho or Diodorus, making a comment more about the direction in which Arcesilaus’ tactics are leading than about any present allegiance.

I therefore suggest that Aristo, whose chronology is unclear, was probably suggesting that Arcesilaus, after a more Platonic phase, was now heading in the direction of Diodorus and likely to finish no more cognitively successful than Pyrrho. They are the guises that he will appear in *after* the Platonic phase. That would agree with Arcesilaus having played a role to which Plato was more central in his younger days when he acquired Plato’s books, later (as scholar) moving in the direction of inter-school polemics, argument *in utramque partem*, and defence of suspension of judgement.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ I should like to acknowledge the financial support of the Australian Research Council (Discovery Project DP0986334, ‘Academies Under Stress’), the assistance of Terry Roberts in preparation of data, helpful comment on my ‘One Academy’ thesis from Andrea Falcon and François Renaud, and my benefit from discussions with numerous colleagues, not least at the Athens conference itself. My earlier views on Philo of Larissa have now been updated in my chapter ‘Philo of Larissa’ (2018).

*Carneades' Theological Arguments**David Sedley**

Stoic theology is remarkable, not least, for the protracted dialectical confrontations that occurred between it and its critics. The clearest such cases concern the theological syllogisms of Zeno of Citium, the school's founder. These were subjected to merciless parodic attacks (*parabolai*) by his contemporary critic Alexinus, and in due course rehabilitated by later Stoics, notably by Diogenes of Babylon in the mid second century BC.¹

There is a widespread assumption that around the time of Diogenes' defensive action a new wave of attacks was being launched on Stoic theology, by the great Academic scholarh Carneades. It is that assumption that I wish to challenge. Carneades' well-documented theological critiques are not unconnected with Stoicism, but they are not, or so I shall argue, specifically attacks on Stoic theology. Once we get rid of that misleading assumption, we will have much to learn from them about Carneades' philosophical methodology.

Sextus Empiricus and Cicero record a series of theological sorites arguments stemming from Carneades, all of which turn in one way or another on the difficulty of finding a cut-off point between divine and non-divine beings. If there are any gods, a typical argument points out, clearly Poseidon is a god, and equally clearly a tiny stream of water is not a god; but given the supposed existence, between these two extremes, of sea gods, river gods and gods of springs, it becomes hard if not impossible to find a point in the scale at which divinity ceases.

These sorites arguments have attracted much attention, especially since a classic 1941 article by Pierre Couissin.² But they are in fact, both in Sextus and in Cicero, recorded as part of a larger and often more

* For helpful discussion, my thanks to audiences at the Séminaire Léon Robin, Paris, in May 2012, at the conference on the Academy held in Athens in Dec. 2012, and at a seminar in São Paulo, Brazil, in April 2013. Thanks also to James Warren and Plinio Junqueira Smith for further written comments.

¹ See esp. Schofield 1983.

² Couissin 1941.

interesting family of theological arguments, which can as a whole be traced back to Carneades. It will be appropriate to address our questions, so far as possible, to that family as a whole, rather than to any one part of it.

I shall nevertheless start with the sorites arguments, since it is above all with regard to these that, especially since Couissin's article, it has been repeatedly said that Carneades' target was the Stoics.³ I have in fact found only one note of dissent, briefly but discerningly voiced by Woldemar Görler in his fine 1994 chapter on Hellenistic scepticism.⁴

The reason for such near-unanimity among scholars is easy to identify. It derives from a remark made by Cicero's Academic spokesman Cotta in explanation of the sorites arguments, and cited in evidence by Couissin and others (*ND* 3.44):

Carneades used to say these things, not in order to eliminate the gods (for what could be less fitting for a philosopher than that?), but to convict the Stoics of failing to explain anything about the gods.⁵

It is surprising that this interpretation has so regularly been accepted at face value. The objections that it invites are partly historical, partly philosophical. I start with the historical grounds for doubt.

Carneades' impact on the Academy was so profound that he came to be treated as its virtual re-founder, with his successors vying over the correct interpretation of his philosophical stance. Among these, there is very good reason to sympathise with the interpretation maintained by Clitomachus, who played a major role in establishing a written record of his master's arguments. Clitomachus interpreted Carneades as a Herculean opponent of assent,⁶ in other words as a great champion of *epochē*. On such an interpretation, Carneades sought equally strong

³ For more or less the same view as Couissin's, usually mentioned in passing as undisputed fact, see e.g. Hicks 1910: 329–30; Dal Pra 1975: 194–205; Nonvel Pieri 1978: esp. 66–70; Burnyeat 1982: esp. 330, 332; Sedley 1982: 272, n. 15; Long and Sedley 1987, vol. 1: 465, vol. 2: 454–5; Long 1990: esp. 281; Lévy 1992: 43–4, 578; Hankinson 1995: esp. 240, 242–3; Mansfeld 1999b: 476–7 (although he does not altogether limit the target to Stoicism); Allen 2004; Thorsrud 2009: 60–5; Thorsrud 2010: 70.

⁴ Görler 1994: 886–7. Elsewhere in his section on Carneades' theological arguments (884–7) he detects more targeting of the Stoics than I do, but overall his remarks seem to me outstandingly well judged. Meijer 2007 considers the arguments in Sextus anti-Stoic, but not directly drawn from Carneades, whose own targets he maintains were more generic (esp. 191–2, 202–6).

⁵ For Latin text, see n. 20 below.

⁶ Cf. Cic. *Luc.* 108, *credoque Clitomacho ita scribenti, Herculis quendam laborem exanclatum a Carneade, quod ut feram et inmanem beluam sic ex animis nostris adsensionem id est opinionem et temeritatem extraxisset.*

arguments on both sides of each philosophical debate and chose to leave the matter evenly balanced.

An illustration of this policy is found in Cicero's *De fato*, where we learn how Carneades set out to strengthen the Epicurean anti-determinist position by freeing it from dependence on the notoriously controversial doctrine of the atomic swerve. By showing how it could manage without the swerve, he remarked, he was making the Epicurean anti-determinist position strong enough to stand up against Stoic determinism (*Fat.* 23). Although Cicero and no doubt others preferred to associate Carneades primarily with the anti-determinist position, which was after all largely his own original philosophical creation, his recorded remark strongly suggests that his aim was in fact to maintain an equal balance, with *epochē* the expected outcome.

An important piece of evidence confirming this picture of a Carneades working systematically towards *epochē* is the celebrated anecdote associated with his ambassadorial visit to Rome in 155 BC, in the company of the Stoic and Peripatetic school-heads, respectively Diogenes of Babylon and Critolaus. On one day, it was reported, Carneades gathered an audience and spoke warmly in defence of justice; on the next day he shocked the Roman public by calling a second meeting and delivering a speech in which he denounced justice. It is a very natural assumption that this scandalous open-mindedness with regard to the merits of justice was a tactic aimed at promoting *epochē*, in line with Clitomachus' general interpretation.

From a lost page of Cicero's *De republica*, Lactantius preserves a telling remark by the Academic Philus on Carneades' aim in putting on this performance:

With the object of refuting Aristotle and Plato, supporters of justice, Carneades in his first discourse assembled all the arguments in favour of justice in order that he might overturn them, as he did ... not because he thought justice ought to be disparaged, but to show that its defenders had no certain or firm arguments about it.⁷

Notice the strategic correspondence between the two Ciceronian explanations. According to the *De natura deorum*, Carneades criticised the notion of god, not because he wanted to deny the existence of gods, but in order to show that the Stoics had no philosophically coherent account of gods to offer. According to the *De republica*, Carneades criticised justice, not

⁷ Lact. *Inst.* 5.14, *Carneades autem, ut Aristotelem refelleret ac Platonem, iustitiae patronos, prima illa disputatione collegit ea omnia quae pro iustitia dicebantur, ut posset illa, sicut fecit, evertere, ... non quia vituperandam esse iustitiam sentiebat, sed ut illos defensores eius ostenderet nihil certi, nihil firmi de iustitia disputare.*

because he wanted to disparage justice, but in order to show that Plato and Aristotle had no philosophically coherent defence of justice to offer. It seems overwhelmingly probable that in both cases we are witnessing an exercise in apologetics, making Carneades' arguments less shocking to a Roman audience. The apologetics represent the main alternative strategy to that of Clitomachus for interpreting Carneades' philosophical intent.

Indeed, it was probably the entry of Academic philosophy into the Roman world that did most to ensure the eventual success of the rival, non-Clitomachean interpretation of Carneades, under the school-headship of Philo of Larissa.⁸ Philo became Academic scholarch in 110, and thereafter fell under the influence of Metrodorus of Stratonicea, who unlike Philo had known Carneades personally, and who claimed to be privy to the master's inner thoughts. According to Metrodorus, and to Philo too in due course, Carneades' attacks on cognitive certainty had not been an expression of strong scepticism, but an anti-Stoic tactic.⁹ In reality, they explained, Carneades allowed that the sage could freely hold philosophical beliefs, so long as he recognised their fallibility.¹⁰

It is very clearly this fallibilist interpretation of Carneades that underlies the apologetic explanations, which we have witnessed in Cicero, of Carneades' apparent attacks on god and on justice.¹¹ According to the Metrodorean–Philonian school of thought, Carneades' critique was in both cases aimed at demolishing, not the targeted concept itself, but the supposed authorities (the Stoics in the one case, Plato and Aristotle in the other) who professed to offer philosophically probative accounts of it. His doing so was, according to this same line of interpretation, entirely compatible with his holding the sincere beliefs that there are gods, and that justice is a good thing. Indeed, what could be less fitting for a philosopher than to deny the existence of god, or to disparage justice?

⁸ For Philo's intellectual biography, see Brittain 2001, esp. chapters 1–4 and Appendix.

⁹ August. *C. Acad.* 3.41: [*Philo*] *qui iam veluti aperire cedentibus hostibus portas coeperat, et ad Platonis auctoritatem Academiam legesque revocare – quamquam et Metrodorus id antea facere tentaverat, qui primus dicitur esse confessus non decreto placuisse Academicis nihil posse comprehendere, sed necessario contra Stoicos huiusmodi eos arma sumpsisse.*

¹⁰ Cic. *Luc.* 78.

¹¹ I wrote this article before the publication of Wynne 2014, with its meticulous epistemological argument for linking Cotta in *ND* to the Clitomachean Academy. I cannot do justice to it here, beyond remarking that his epistemological criteria do not seem to me decisive. For example, one need not accept that Philonians, in adopting fallibilism, were rejecting probabilism. The impression that both Cotta and Cicero speak as Philonians in this dialogue is strengthened by the references to their both being pupils of Philo (1.17, 59, 113), whereas Clitomachus is nowhere mentioned. Also important to add to the evidence cited by Wynne is Cic. *Fat.* 1, where we are told that the aim of *ND* was to set out the case for and against each theological thesis in order that each person present could approve whichever thesis they found to be more probable: there is no hint at Clitomachean suspension of assent here, or in *ND* itself either.

I am by no means alone in finding the Clitomachean interpretation of Carneades as a champion of *epochē* more credible, historically speaking, than the fallibilist portrayal which came eventually to supersede it under Philo's headship. But in the case of the theological arguments we do not need to rely on such historical preferences. It is, I think, quite easy to demonstrate that the anti-Stoic reading of them represents a systematic revision by the Philonians.

Let us again start with the sorites arguments. Sextus introduces them with these words:

There are also some arguments which Carneades posed in soritical fashion, and which his associate Clitomachus wrote up as his most serious and effective. They take the following form.¹²

Carneades wrote nothing, and it was left primarily to Clitomachus to catalogue his arguments, which the latter did at enormous length. Sextus' introduction has given us every reason to suppose that we are reading Carneades' soritical arguments in the form in which Clitomachus himself recorded them. Observe, then, how the first argument runs (S.E. *M.* 9.182–3):

If Zeus is a god, Poseidon too is a god.

For we three brothers were sons of Zeus, born to Rhea:

I, Zeus, and thirdly Hades, who reigns among the dead.

All things have been divided three ways among us, and each has his share of honour. [Homer, *Iliad* 15.187–9]

So if Zeus is a god, Poseidon too, being his brother, will be a god. But if Poseidon is a god, the [river] Achelous will be a god too. And if the Achelous is, so is the Nile. If the Nile is, so are all rivers. If all rivers are, streams too would be gods. If streams were, torrents would be. But streams are not. Therefore Zeus is not a god either. But if there were gods, Zeus too would be a god. Therefore there are no gods.¹³

¹² ἡρώτηνται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καρνεάδου καὶ σωριτικῶς τινες, οὓς ὁ γνώριμος αὐτοῦ Κλειτόμαχος ὡς σπουδαιοτάτους καὶ ἀνυτικωτάτους ἀνέγραψεν, ἔχοντας τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. For Clitomachus as a leading collector of these arguments for atheism, cf. Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* 3.7, ὅποσα δὲ Κλιτόμαχος ὁ Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς περὶ ἀθεότητος εἰσηγήσατο.

¹³ εἰ Ζεὺς θεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν θεὸς ἐστίν·

τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου ἦμεν ἀδελφοί, οὓς τέκετο Ῥέα,
Ζεὺς καὶ ἐγώ, τρίτατος δ' Αἰδὼς ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσω.
τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς.

ὥστε εἰ ὁ Ζεὺς θεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἀδελφὸς ὦν τούτου θεὸς γενήσεται. εἰ δὲ ὁ Ποσειδῶν θεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ Ἀχελῷος ἐστὶ θεός· εἰ δὲ ὁ Ἀχελῷος, καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος· εἰ ὁ Νεῖλος, καὶ πᾶς ποταμός· εἰ πᾶς ποταμός, καὶ οἱ ῥύακες ἂν εἴεν θεοί· εἰ οἱ ῥύακες, καὶ αἱ χαράδραι. οὐχὶ δὲ οἱ ῥύακες· οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἄρα θεὸς ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ γε ἦσαν θεοί, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἦν ἂν θεός. οὐκ ἄρα θεοὶ εἰσὶν. One would have expected οὐχὶ δὲ οἱ χαράδραι instead of οὐχὶ δὲ οἱ ῥύακες.

Note first that this is an argument with an explicitly atheistic conclusion: there are no gods. That is a feature that it shares with every one of the arguments which surround it in the text of Sextus (*M.* 9.138–90), of which some are explicitly reported as Carneadean and the remainder have justifiably been suspected to be. It is, in any case, precisely what we would expect of Carneades as seen through Clitomachus' eyes. Assume with Clitomachus that Carneades' aim was to secure suspension of judgement regarding the existence of god. A huge battery of arguments in favour of the existence of god – particularly Stoic ones, but Platonic, Peripatetic and Epicurean arguments too – was already in place, and did not need further supplementation.¹⁴ What the philosophical tradition had altogether failed to bequeath, as far as we know, was any argument *against* the existence of god.¹⁵ It fell to Carneades to make up that deficiency, despite the opprobrium that arguing for atheism was likely to bring upon him and his school – opprobrium which we have already seen Cicero's Academic spokesman Cotta working hard to deflect.

It is easy for us to overlook the fact that this group of syllogisms constitutes the earliest recorded arguments for atheism in the entire Western canon. The fact that Carneades devised and propounded them does not of course make him an atheist, since he will have acknowledged the existence of equally strong arguments on the other side, thus encouraging his listeners to suspend judgement. But his overall stance, at least on the highly credible Clitomachean interpretation of it, does make him a theological agnostic. Once he is seen to have combined formal arguments for atheism with an overall suspension of judgement about the existence of god, Carneades becomes a more important figure in the history of religious doubt than he has been recognised to be. And it is, I suggest, the Philonian reinterpretation of his arguments as purely anti-Stoic that has done most to rob him of this recognition.

So far, with regard to the quoted Carneadean sorites argument, I have mentioned no more than its characteristically atheistic outcome. A second point to notice is that it contains no distinctively Stoic premise. The opening premise that Zeus is a god is of course common ground to Stoicism, Platonism, the poets and popular belief. The second step, according to which Poseidon too is a god, is here established not by appeal to any philosophical thesis, Stoic or otherwise, but by means of the

¹⁴ This is in fact just what Sextus says at 9.137, and it is likely that the remark is itself part of the Academic material he has taken over.

¹⁵ The early atheists reported in Plato, *Laws* 10 give a coherent scientific and anthropological explanation of their position (see Sedley 2013), but it does not include any actual arguments against the existence of god.

intrinsically compelling premise that any brother of a god must be a god, combined with Homer's verbatim evidence that Zeus and Poseidon are indeed brothers. The further descent through the rivers Achelous and Nile does not appeal to any philosophical thesis either, but presumably relies on a cultural fact, namely that both these rivers¹⁶ were the objects of religious cults. And the addition of other rivers, streams and finally torrents relies on a simple principle of resemblance, basic to the sorites. Altogether, there is nothing distinctively Stoic about any of the premises cited or assumed. Nor, for that matter, is there anything distinctively anti-Stoic about the conclusion, that there are no gods, since the existence of gods is a commonplace of philosophy, literature and popular belief.

It might perhaps still be contended that, even if the premises are not Stoic and the conclusion not specifically anti-Stoic, the sorites does target a genuine weakness of Stoic theology, namely the school's commitment to polytheism. That was indeed Couissin's view, enshrined in the title of his 1941 article, 'Les sorites de Carnéade contre le polythéisme'. Now, there is a legitimate debate as to whether the terms 'polytheism' and/or 'monotheism' can or cannot be appropriately assigned to Stoic theology. For my part I prefer to stick with the term 'henotheism' – a theology which finds room for a multiplicity of divinities, all in some sense subsumed under a single supreme god. But even bypassing that debate, we can quickly see that the syllogism we are currently examining does not presuppose any distinctively Stoic position. The Stoic supreme divinity is Zeus, and he stands apart from the lesser divinities in being the one altogether indestructible god, present even during the conflagration. The lesser gods are typically identifiable with his parts, Poseidon for example being the part of Zeus coextensive with the sea, according to Diogenes of Babylon, Stoic scholarch in Carneades' own day.¹⁷ It should be clear that Carneades' opening inference, from the divinity of Zeus to the divinity of Poseidon, in no way acknowledges the special whole–part relation between the two gods postulated by contemporary Stoicism, but, as we have seen, relies on a simple inference from the Homeric evidence for their being brothers. It is true that Stoicism, by allowing a second and subsequent strata of divinities, leaves itself vulnerable to Carneades' challenge, but no more vulnerable than either Plato or, for that matter, conventional religion, both of which acknowledge various levels of divine

¹⁶ The longest Greek river (as noted by Bett 2012: 38), followed presumably by the longest foreign one.

¹⁷ *SVF* 3 Diogenes 33.

beings. If the Stoics had decided to limit the name 'god' to Zeus alone, they could have made themselves invulnerable to the sorites argument; but such strict monotheism is so rare a position in ancient pagan thought¹⁸ that we cannot say with any historical credibility that Carneades is targeting the Stoics for their failure to adopt it.

So far we have seen reason to believe that the sample of Carneadean theological argument that we are currently considering was presented by the original source Clitomachus, and in all probability intended by Carneades himself, as an independent philosophical argument against the existence of god. There is absolutely no reason to think of it as an attack on any particular philosophy or creed.

Now compare the (presumably Philonian) style of rewriting that we find in Cicero. Although none of the sorites arguments selected by Sextus corresponds precisely to any one of those selected by Cicero,¹⁹ there can be no doubt that they all belong to the same larger group, with much overlap of material between them. We may therefore legitimately compare Cicero's opening pair of examples with the one we have already met in Sextus. I quote these Ciceronian versions here with enough of their context to bring out the anti-Stoic colouring that has been added to the Clitomachean original. Cotta, it should be borne in mind, is addressing a Stoic, Balbus. I shall use Greek rather than Latin divine names, in order to emphasise the common ground with the Sextan material.

Since my speech has brought me to this topic, I shall show that I have learnt better lessons about cultivating the immortal gods from pontifical law and ancestral custom, from the little pots that Numa has bequeathed to us and about which Laelius speaks in that little golden speech of his, than from the arguments of the Stoics. For if I were to follow you Stoics, tell me how to answer someone who asks me the following:

'If there are gods, are the Nymphs goddesses too? If the Nymphs are, what about the Pans and Satyrs? But these last are not gods. Then are the Nymphs not goddesses either? Yet there are temples of them, publicly consecrated and dedicated. So are the others who have temples dedicated to them not gods either?'

Or again:

'You [Balbus] count Zeus and Poseidon as gods. Therefore their brother, Hades, is a god. But are those [rivers] that are said to flow in the underworld – Acheron, Cocytus, Pyriphlegethon, not to mention Charon and

¹⁸ The only plausible candidate is in my view Antisthenes. But for a more generous assessment, cf. Frede 2010.

¹⁹ Couissin 1941: 43 says that three of the sorites arguments 'sont communs, sous quelques réserves' between Sextus and Cicero, but correctly concedes (ibid. 44) that they 'ne coïncident jamais réellement'.

Cerberus – to be considered gods? That must be denied. If so, Hades is *not* a god. So what do you [Stoics] say about his brothers?

Carneades used to say these things, not in order to eliminate the gods (for what could be less fitting for a philosopher than that?), but to convict the Stoics of failing to explain anything about the gods.²⁰

Although, as I have said, neither of these arguments corresponds precisely to the one we examined in Sextus' catalogue, the second of them is its twin. It too relies – albeit this time only implicitly – on Homer's authority for the brotherhood of Zeus, Poseidon and Hades. But instead of Poseidon, the focus of the Sextan version, it picks on the third brother, Hades, and as a result, instead of passing through diminishingly divine-seeming terrestrial manifestations of water, it does more or less the same with the *underground* waterways and allied beings. Clearly the Sextan and the Ciceronian argument originated as a closely linked pair, and can legitimately be compared on that basis.

Notice then how in Cicero the material has been reworked in order to provide arguments targeted specifically at the Stoics.

First, Cotta's attack on Stoic theology is explicit – hardly a surprise, since the aim of his speech is precisely to reply to Balbus' exposition of Stoic theology in book 2. His critique is reinforced by contrasting Stoic theology unfavourably with the traditional religion Cotta has learned in his role as priest. His Academic stance in this book is a form of fideism: in his eyes religious faith is superior to the use of reason, and it is Stoicism that epitomises the failed attempt to found religion on reason. Moreover, this fideistic stance is clearly formulated as a proper application of Platonic tradition. At *ND* 3.5–6, Cotta proudly emphasises his reliance on ancestral teaching about religion in preference to the guidance of Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus; and he closes with the following words:

There, Balbus, you have the opinions of Cotta, a priest. Now make me understand your opinions. For from you, who are a philosopher, I ought to receive a reasoned account of religion, whereas our ancestors I ought to believe even though they have given no reasoned account.

²⁰ Cic. *ND* 3.43–4: *'quando enim me in hunc locum deduxit oratio, docebo meliora me didicisse de colendis diis immortalibus iure pontificio et more maiorum capedunculis his, quas Numa nobis reliquit, de quibus in illa aureola oratiuncula dicit Laelius, quam rationibus Stoicorum. si enim vos sequar, dic, quid ei respondeam qui me sic roget: 'si di sunt, suntne etiam Nymphae deae? si Nymphae, Panisci etiam et Satyri; hi autem non sunt; ne Nymphae quidem igitur. at earum templa sunt publice vota et dedicata. ne ceteri quidem ergo di, quorum templa sunt dedicata. age porro: Iovem et Neptunum deum numeras; ergo etiam Orcus frater eorum deus, et illi qui fluere apud inferos dicuntur, Acheron, Cocytus, Pyriphlegethon; tum Charon, tum Cerberus di putandi. at id quidem repudiandum; ne Orcus quidem igitur; quid dicitis ergo de fratribus?' haec Carneades aiebat, non ut deos tolleret – quid enim philosopho minus conveniens? – sed ut Stoicos nihil de diis explicare convinceret.*

There is an echo here of *Timaeus* 40d–e, where we are advised by Plato's speaker to accept the traditional poetic accounts of the Olympian gods, even though they cannot be subject to any kind of reasoning in the way that the stellar and other cosmic gods are. In Philo's Academy, the policy of fallibilism was undoubtedly founded in part on an appeal to the model set by the *Timaeus*, with its reliance on an εἰκὼς λόγος, and here we can detect a hint at how that Platonic input was worked out in detail when it came to the uniquely delicate subject of traditional deities.

Second, this targeting of the Stoics has had a visible impact on the style and content of the arguments themselves. Their formal syllogistic structure has been relaxed, even abandoned, one result being that neither these two nor any of the other arguments reported by Cicero any longer has an explicitly atheistic conclusion, by contrast with those in Sextus, every one of which does. Instead, the arguments are so worded as to generate internal problems for Stoicism. How, for example, are *the Stoics* going to explain the separation of the divine Nymphs from the non-divine Satyrs? Or the separation of the divine Zeus and Poseidon from the (arguably) non-divine Hades, their brother?

However, even in this revised form the arguments do not target specific doctrinal points of Stoic theology. No recognisably Stoic or anti-Stoic premises are invoked in them. The Stoics are treated as vulnerable merely because they are a school that assumes theology to be an area in which reasoned argument is possible, and the fallibilist and/or fideist Cotta intends to show what intractable difficulties that assumption gets them into.²¹

The main conclusion so far is the following. In Sextus we have what credibly purport to be the original Clitomachean versions of some of Carneades' theological sorites syllogisms. They are consistently presented as defences of atheism, and do not visibly single out Stoicism or any other one school as a target. What we find in Cicero appears to be a rewritten version of these same arguments, no longer presented as syllogistic proofs of atheism, but instead as attempts to point out conceptual unclarities among religious categories, unclarities that are meant to embarrass the Stoa only in the general sense that this school is

²¹ That the Stoics in particular should be his target for this is to some extent an accident of history. Metrodorus did, we know, interpret at least some of Carneades' arguments as shaped by the need to combat the Stoics (cf. n. 9 above), so it is likely that Cicero already for that reason inherited this material in the anti-Stoic form we find it in. And of course that is the form in which it best serves his own purposes in *De natura deorum* 3, which is set up to be precisely the Academic reply to Stoic theology. At *Div.* 1.8 Cicero himself, as speaker, confirms and approves the anti-Stoic – as distinct from anti-religious – aim of Cotta in *ND*.

committed to the idea of rational theology. The rewriting has the merit, from the New Academy's point of view, of saving Carneades from appearing to side with atheism, just as he had had to be saved from appearing to disparage justice in his notorious speech of 155 BC. Any historical attempt to recover Carneades' own philosophical stance and motivation will, I conclude, do much better to work with Sextus' evidence than with Cicero's.

I now turn to the broader sets of arguments from which I have so far drawn just a few samples. Here is the overall structure of the Sextus passage, with a few correspondences in Cicero marked:

Sextus Empiricus, <i>M.</i> 9.138–90	Cicero, <i>ND</i> 3
138–147 all living body is subject to wear and tear [Carneades cited, 140]	29–34 [explicitly from Carneades, 29] all living body is subject to wear and tear
148–151 dilemmatic arguments	
148–50 is god finite or infinite? (and moving/stationary?)	
151 is god bodily or non-bodily?	
152–75 to be happy god must have all the virtues, but he cannot have ...	38–9 god cannot have virtue:
152–7 endurance	prudence, intelligence, justice, moderation,
158–60 courage	courage
161 magnanimity	
162–6 wisdom	
167–70 deliberative soundness (<i>euboulia</i>)	
171–3 expertise (<i>technē</i>)	
174–5 moderation (<i>sōphrosunē</i>)	
176–81 more dilemmatic arguments	
176–7 does god have virtue or not?	
178–9 does god have speech or not?	
180–1 is god bodily or non-bodily?	
182–90 sorites arguments (selected from Clitomachus' report of Carneades)	43–52 sorites arguments

Sextus' entire sequence of syllogisms at 138–90 seems to form a coherent whole, united by their specifically atheistic conclusions. His opening group of syllogisms, at 138–47, all argue from the premise that god is a living being, via the interim finding that he is subject to wear and tear, to the conclusion that he is destructible, and therefore is not a god after all. In Cicero's brief summary of that same group of arguments (*ND* 3.29)

they are explicitly attributed to Carneades, and that we may assume the same Carneadean authorship for the Sextan group is confirmed by the presence in the group's first syllogism of a premise attributed by name to Carneades (140: more on this below).

Moving now to the end of Sextus' sequence of atheistic syllogisms, we find that it closes at 182–90 with its selection of sorites arguments, which Sextus twice (182, 190) attributes explicitly to Carneades, with specific reference to Clitomachus' transcription. Moreover, when Sextus makes the transition to these at 182, his words are: 'That is what this kind of argument too is like. There are also some arguments which Carneades posed in soritical fashion ...' (τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων εἶδος ἐστίν· ἡρώτηνται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καρνεάδου καὶ σωριτικῶς τινές ...). Here his 'also' is so placed as to imply that Carneades was already the source of the preceding arguments, and that his soritical arguments are now being added to those. This makes it credible that, following the initial mention of Carneades, the entire intervening sequence of arguments has been Carneadean too.²² The intervening arguments do in fact include a long series of syllogisms on the question of god's virtue, a theme matched at a corresponding point in Cicero's sequence (38–9). Since the Ciceronian material is almost certainly Academic in origin, it is at least a plausible hypothesis that the Sextan material as a whole stems from the Carneadean Academy.

My reason for drawing attention to this wider range of material is that it helps confirm the point that Carneades' theological arguments do not have a specifically Stoic target.²³ I shall illustrate this claim mainly with regard to the first section (138–47), simply because that passage's attribution to Carneades is even more certain than that of the remainder. As we shall see, its dialectical character closely matches that of the sorites arguments.

The opening move (138), prefatory to the whole group of arguments, is to establish that, if there are gods, they are living beings (ζῶα). It can be formally established by a quasi-Stoic syllogism, we are told: a living being

²² A similar conclusion is indicated by Long 1990: esp. n. 5, by means of a careful comparison between the Sextan and Ciceronian sequences of argument. Bett 2012: xiv, n. 15 is more cautious: 'It actually looks as if Sextus makes extensive use of Academic material in this section ... Still, despite his apparent debt to the Academics, Sextus refers only in passing to Carneades at 1.140 and acknowledges borrowing from him only at 1.182–90.' Similar remarks in Meijer 2007: 181. This amount of explicit source acknowledgement is in fact unusually emphatic by Sextus' standards.

²³ There has been less comment on the status of these other arguments than on that of the sorites arguments. For the view that they too are primarily anti-Stoic, see esp. Long 1990.

is superior to a non-living being; nothing is superior to god; therefore, god is a living being.²⁴ But in any case, the passage continues,²⁵ the premise that god is a living being is common ground, being endorsed by ordinary people and intellectuals alike. That former suggestion, a quasi-Stoic proof that god is a living being, will turn out to be the one explicit reference to Stoicism in the entire passage. The latter appeal to authority refers specifically to the beliefs of 'ordinary life (ὁ βίος), the poets, and the majority of the best philosophers'.²⁶ These are, we could say, the 'standard' views or (as Aristotle might have called them, and as I shall refer to them for convenience) *endoxa*, on which the ensuing arguments will largely rely. Stoics will no doubt be included among the last group named, 'the majority of the best philosophers', but as we will see they are not especially privileged among them.

The first substantive argument to follow maintains that god, as a living being, must have at least the five senses that humans have:

For if man has a greater abundance of senses he will turn out to be better than god. Rather, as Carneades said, along with these five senses that everyone has we ought to ascribe an additional abundance of them to god, so that he may be able to apprehend a larger number of things, far from depriving him of the five.²⁷

The ascription to Carneades by name is not hard to explain. Whereas, as we shall see, most of the premises will be drawn from established *endoxa*, the imaginative idea that god should if anything have *additional* senses

²⁴ S.E. *M.* 9.138: εἴπερ τοίνυν εἰσὶ θεοί, ζῶα εἰσιν· καὶ ᾧ λόγῳ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ἐδίδασκον ὅτι ζῶόν ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος, τῷ αὐτῷ χρησάμενος ἂν τις κατασκευάζῃ ὅτι καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶ ζῶον. τὸ γὰρ ζῶον τοῦ μὴ ζώου κρείττον ἐστίν, οὐδὲν δὲ κρείττον ἐστὶ θεοῦ· ζῶον ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, ...

²⁵ Ibid.: ... συμπαραλαμβανομένης τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐννοίας, εἴγε καὶ ὁ βίος καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀρίστων φιλοσόφων πληθὺς μαρτυρεῖ τῷ ζῶον εἶναι τὸν θεόν. ὥστε σφύζεσθαι τὰ τῆς ἀκολουθίας.

²⁶ For god as a ζῶον, see e.g. Plato, *Ti.* 39e, Aristotle, *Metaph.* Λ 7.1072b29, Epicurus, *Ep. Men.* 123; D.L. 7.147 (Stoic).

²⁷ S.E. *M.* 9.139-40, εἴγ' ἄρ' εἰσὶ θεοί, ζῶα εἰσιν. εἰ δὲ ζῶα εἰσιν, αἰσθάνονται· πᾶν γὰρ ζῶον αἰσθήσεως μετοχὴ νοεῖται ζῶον. εἰ δὲ αἰσθάνονται, καὶ πικράζονται καὶ γλυκάζονται· οὐ γὰρ δι' ἄλλης μὲν τινος αἰσθήσεως ἀντιλαμβάνονται τῶν αἰσθητῶν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς γεύσεως. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ περικόπτειν ταύτην ἢ τινα αἴσθησιν ἄλλην ἀπλῶς τοῦ θεοῦ παντελῶς ἐστὶν ἀπίθανον· περιττοτέρας γὰρ αἰσθήσεις ἔχων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀμείνων αὐτοῦ γενήσεται, δέον μᾶλλον, ὥς ἔλεγεν ὁ Καρνεάδης, σὺν ταῖς πᾶσιν ὑπαρχούσαις πέντε ταύταις αἰσθήσεσι καὶ ἄλλας αὐτῷ περισσοτέρας προσμαρτυρεῖν, ἢν' ἔχῃ πλείονων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν πέντε ἀφαιρεῖν. At the beginning, εἴγ' ἄρ' is my proposal in place of the traditional εἰ γάρ (not an emendation, since the sequence of letters is identical), cf. Long and Sedley 1987: 2.454: 'both εἰ γε and ἄρα are used elsewhere in this sequence of arguments, and the logic here requires 'Therefore ...', not 'For ...'. Further down, I see no reason to emend, with Bekker, to περιττοτέρας γὰρ αἰσθήσεις ἔχων [ὁ ἄνθρωπος] ἀμείνων αὐτοῦ γενήσεται, which Bury accepts, translating 'For the more numerous the senses he has, the better he will be.'

beyond our five was an innovation, presented as Carneades' own positive proposal, and is duly noted as such by Sextus.

This argument and the next three (139–47) all go on to draw anti-theistic consequences from the interim premise that god possesses at least our five senses. Use of the various sense modalities, it is argued, in its very nature involves unwelcome as well as welcome sensory experiences, for example of bitter as well as sweet; these unwelcome sensations involve disturbance (ὀχλησις), which is a change for the worse; and what can change for the worse can eventually perish. Hence god is perishable, which conflicts with the common conception of god. Therefore there are no gods.²⁸

So far the considerations invoked have been fairly generic. But at 144–5, where one particular sense modality is addressed, namely sight, we find specific philosophical theories being invoked, and they are not Stoic:²⁹

It is possible also to base the argument more effectively on a single sense, such as sight. For if the divine exists, it is a living being. If it is a living being, it sees: 'Whole he sees, whole he thinks, whole he hears' [Xenophanes B24]. And if he sees, he sees both black and white. But since white is that which is divisive of sight, black that which is compressive of sight, god is divided and compressed with respect to his sight. But if he is susceptible to division and compression, he is also susceptible to destruction. Therefore if the divine exists, it is destructible. But the divine is not destructible. Therefore it does not exist.

The earlier reference to 'the poets, and the majority of the best philosophers' as chosen authorities is amply borne out here, with a verse quotation from Xenophanes in supplementary support of the initial claim that god sees, followed by Plato's formal physical definition (*Ti.* 67e) of white and black as respectively that which is divisive and that which is compressive of sight.

The jury of philosophical authorities is further enlarged in the immediately ensuing argument (146–7),³⁰ which starts from the recognisably

²⁸ This phase of the argument has a close correspondence to Cic. *ND* 3.32.

²⁹ ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰσθήσεως ἐξεργαστικώτερον τιθέναι τὸν λόγον, οἷον τῆς ὁράσεως. εἰ γὰρ ἔστι τὸ θεῖον, ζῶν ἔστιν. εἰ <δὲ> ζῶν ἔστιν, ὁρᾷ. [ἄλλος] οὖλος γὰρ ὁρᾷ, οὖλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὖλος δὲ τ' ἀκούει. εἰ δὲ ὁρᾷ, καὶ λευκὰ ὁρᾷ καὶ μέλανα. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ λευκὸν μὲν ἔστι τὸ διακριτικὸν ὄψεως, μέλαν δὲ τὸ συγχυτικὸν ὄψεως, διακρίνεται τὴν ὄψιν καὶ συγχέεται ὁ θεός. εἰ δὲ διακρίσεως καὶ συγχύσεως ἔστι δεκτικός, καὶ φθορᾶς ἔσται δεκτικός. τοίνυν εἰ ἔστι τὸ θεῖον, φθαρτὸν ἔστιν. οὐχὶ δὲ γε φθαρτὸν ἔστιν. οὐκ ἄρα ἔστιν. With Bury and Bett, I accept Heintz's deletion of ἄλλος after ὁρᾷ in 144. It is ungrammatical, irrelevant to the argument, and easily explained as a virtual dittography of the ensuing οὖλος.

³⁰ καὶ μὴν ἡ αἰσθησις ἑτεροίωσις τις ἔστιν. ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὸ δι' αἰσθήσεως τινος ἀντιλαμβανόμενον μὴ ἑτεροιοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ οὕτω διακείσθαι ὡς πρὸ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως δέκετο. εἰ οὖν αἰσθάνεται ὁ θεός, καὶ ἑτεροιοῦται. εἰ δὲ ἑτεροιοῦται, ἑτεροιώσεως δεκτικός ἔστι καὶ μεταβολῆς. δεκτικός δὲ ὢν μεταβολῆς πάντως καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς ἔσται δεκτικός. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ φθαρτός ἔστιν. ἄτοπον δὲ γε τὸ λέγειν τὸν θεὸν φθαρτὸν ὑπάρχειν. ἄτοπον ἄρα καὶ τὸ ἀξιοῦν εἶναι τοῦτον.

Aristotelian premise that perception is a 'kind of alteration' – ἐτεροίωσις τις, immediately recalling *De anima* 2.5 (416b34, ἀλλοίωσις τις). If god is susceptible to alteration, the argument continues, he is susceptible to deterioration, and hence ultimately to destruction. This principle – that if god were, *per impossibile*, to change he would deteriorate – may look in need of defence, but it is worth noting in mitigation that it had been endorsed without additional argument by both Plato (*R.* 2.381b–c) and Aristotle (*Metaph.* Λ, 9.1074b25–7).

By contrast, god's unchangeability is not, and could not be, a Stoic tenet, since all the Stoic gods other than Zeus do in fact undergo radical change, indeed destruction, in the periodic conflagration.³¹ This is itself a further reason for assuming the Stoics not to be prominent among Carneades' targets here. Our present group of arguments is united in its aim of showing that a living god would, contrary to the common conception, have to be destructible. If the Stoics were Carneades' main target he would have the much easier, indeed almost too easy, task of simply pointing out that their concession of divine destructibility is in direct conflict with the basic conception of god.³²

I shall pass fairly quickly over the next group of arguments (148–51),³³ which are dilemmatic in form: is god finite or infinite, and, again,

³¹ Cf. *SVF* 2.1049–60, a section which Arnim 1903–5 headed 'Deum mutabilem esse'. Particularly relevant are the verbatim quotations from Chrysippus at *SVF* 2.1049. The significance of this problem, that the Stoic gods are not indestructible, is well brought out by Long 1990: 284–7. I part company with him only regarding his solution, which is to single out a Stoic target, Antipater of Tarsus, who went against the trend and did maintain the indestructibility of god. If as I am urging we set aside Long's starting point, 'The anti-Stoic tenor of these arguments is obvious' (283), I suggest that no such remedy is necessary.

³² Cf. Plutarch's Academic or Academic-inspired criticism of the Stoics on this score at *Comm. not.* 1075a–c.

³³ πρὸς τοῦτοις· εἰ ἔστι τι θεῖον, ἥτοι πεπερασμένον ἐστὶν ἢ ἀπείρον. καὶ ἀπείρον μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴη, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀκίνητον ἂν εἴη καὶ ἄψυχον. εἰ γὰρ κινεῖται τὸ ἀπείρον, τόπον ἐκ τόπου μετέρχεται· τόπον δὲ ἐκ τόπου μετερχόμενον ἐν τόπῳ ἐστὶν, ἐν τόπῳ δὲ ὃν πεπεράσται. εἰ ἄρα ἐστὶ τι ἀπείρον, ἀκίνητόν ἐστιν· ἢ εἴπερ κινεῖται, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπείρον. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἄψυχόν ἐστιν· εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς συνέχεται, πάντως ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα φερόμενον συνέχεται. ἐν δὲ ἀπείρῳ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ μέσον οὐδὲ πέρας· ὥστε οὐδὲ ἔμψυχόν ἐστι τὸ ἀπείρον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰ ἀπείρον ἐστὶ τὸ θεῖον, οὔτε κινεῖται οὔτε ἔμψυχόν ἐστιν. κινεῖται δὲ τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἔμψυχίας ἀξιοῦται μετέχειν· οὐκ ἄρα ἀπείρον ἐστὶ τὸ θεῖον. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲν πεπερασμένον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ πεπερασμένον τοῦ ἀπείρου μέρος ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ὅλον τοῦ μέρους κρείττον ἐστὶ, δηλὸν ὡς τὸ ἀπείρον τοῦ θεῖου κρείττον ἐστὶ καὶ κρατῆσει τῆς θείας φύσεως. ἄτοπον δὲ τὸ λέγειν θεοῦ τι κρείττον καὶ κρατοῦν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως· τοίνυν οὐδὲν πεπερασμένον ἐστὶ τὸ θεῖον. ἀλλ' εἰ μήτε ἀπείρον ἐστὶ μήτε πεπερασμένον, παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἔστι τρίτον νοεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ θεῖον. καὶ μὴν εἰ ἔστι τι τὸ θεῖον, ἥτοι σώμα ἐστὶν ἢ ἀσώματον· οὔτε δὲ ἀσώματόν ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ ἄψυχόν ἐστι καὶ ἀναισθητόν καὶ οὐδὲν δυνάμενον ἐνεργεῖν τὸ ἀσώματον, οὔτε σώμα, ἐπεὶ πᾶν σῶμα μεταβλητόν τέ ἐστι καὶ φθαρτόν, ἀφθαρτόν δὲ τὸ θεῖον· οὐ τοίνυν ὑπάρχει τὸ θεῖον.

corporeal or incorporeal? Both horns of each dilemma are shown to cause problems. For example, a finite god would be only a part of, and therefore inferior to, the entire universe; but an infinite god could not be alive, since soul holds a living being together by means of two motions between the centre and the extremities, and an infinite being can have neither centre nor extremities. Here we finally have a citation of a genuinely Stoic premise. The two-way tensile motion is the one which according to Stoic physics is manifested by the portion of *pneuma* holding any discrete body together.³⁴ Although the particular kind of *pneuma* at issue here is of a very high grade, psychic *pneuma*, the same point could have been made about the 'nature' holding together a plant, or even the *hexis* holding together a rock. The outward movement is said to generate qualities, the internal movement cohesion.

Thus in this presumed Carneadean text the Stoics have not been altogether forgotten as a source of *endoxa*, even if they are not being privileged above others. However, the inspiration of the arguments themselves looks more Aristotelian than Stoic. The dilemma as to whether god is finite or infinite originated from *Physics* 8.10 and *Metaphysics* Λ, 7 (1073a5–11), even if Aristotle's own favoured solution – that god is unextended – is quietly left aside in the argument reported by Sextus.

A similar division of labour between Aristotle and the Stoics recurs in the immediately following set of arguments (152–75), concerning god's virtues. These arguments too appear to be inspired by Aristotle, specifically by *Nicomachean Ethics* 10.8 (1178b7–18), where it is maintained that god cannot be credited with moral virtues, the exercise of which would lower his existence below its contemplative best. However, this time the specific premises of the arguments are largely borrowed from the Stoics. Consider the first argument (152–7):

If the divine exists, it is certainly also a living being. If it is a living being, it is certainly both completely virtuous and happy (and happiness is impossible without virtue). If it is completely virtuous, it also has all the virtues. But it is not the case that, while it has all the virtues, it does not have self-control (*enkrateia*) and endurance (*karteria*). And it is not the case that, while it has these virtues, there are not some things that are hard for god to abstain from and hard for him to endure. For self-control is an insuperable disposition for things done in accordance with right reason, or a virtue which places us above the things thought to be hard to abstain from. For self-controlled behaviour, they say, is not that of one who abstains from an old woman on the brink of death, but that of one who is

³⁴ Evidence in Long and Sedley 1987: 471–J.

able to enjoy Lais or Phryne or some such woman, but then abstains from doing so. And endurance is knowledge of things to be borne and not to be borne, or a virtue which places us above the things thought to be hard to bear. For the person who uses endurance is he who is being cut and burnt but then endures it, not he who is drinking honeyed wine. Therefore there will be some things that are hard for god to bear and hard for him to abstain from. For unless there are, he will not possess these virtues, namely self-control and endurance. And if he does not possess these virtues, since there is nothing between virtue and vice, he will have the vices opposed to these virtues, softness and lack of control. For just as one who does not have health has sickness, so too one who does not have self-control and endurance is in the opposite states, namely vices, which is an absurd thing to say about god. And if there are some things that are hard for god to abstain from and hard for him to bear, there are some things that also change him for the worse and produce disturbance in him. But if that is so, god is susceptible to disturbance and to change for the worse, and hence also to destruction. So if god exists, he is destructible. But not the second, therefore not the first.³⁵

This complex piece of reasoning, especially in its closing moves, has enough in common with the Carneadean arguments we inspected earlier to encourage the common assumption that it too is Carneadean.³⁶ However, despite the argument's continuity with what precedes, and despite the Aristotelian inspiration of the question it addresses, within the current sequence of arguments it represents a new departure, to the extent that it draws its premises exclusively and emphatically from Stoicism.

³⁵ εἴγε μὴν ἔστι τὸ θεῖον, πάντως καὶ ζῶόν ἐστιν. εἰ δὲ ζῶόν ἐστιν, πάντως καὶ πανάρετόν ἐστι καὶ εὐδαιμόν (εὐδαιμονία γὰρ χωρὶς ἀρετῆς οὐ δύναται ὑποστῆναι). εἰ δὲ πανάρετός ἐστι, καὶ πάσας ἔχει τὰς ἀρετάς. ἀλλ' οὐ πάσας μὲν ἔχει τὰς ἀρετάς, οὐχὶ δὲ γε καὶ ἐγκράτειαν ἔχει καὶ καρτερίαν. οὐχὶ δὲ γε ταύτας μὲν ἔχει τὰς ἀρετάς, οὐχὶ δὲ γε ἔστι τινὰ δυσασπόμενα καὶ δυσεγκαρτέρητα τῷ θεῷ. ἐγκράτεια γάρ ἐστι διάθεσις ἀνυπέρβατος τῶν κατ' ὄρθον λόγον γιγνομένων, ἡ ἀρετὴ ὑπεράνω ποιοῦσα ἡμᾶς τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι δυσασπόμετων. ἐγκρατεύεται γάρ, φασίν, οὐχ ὁ θανατιώσης γραδὸς ἀπεχόμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ Λαῖδος καὶ Φρύνης ἢ τινος τοιαύτης δυνάμενος ἀπολαῦσαι, εἴτα ἀπεχόμενος. καρτερία δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη ὑπομενετέων καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενετέων, ἡ ἀρετὴ ὑπεράνω ποιοῦσα ἡμᾶς τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι δυσυπομενήτων. χρῆται γὰρ καρτερίᾳ ὁ τεμνόμενος καὶ καιόμενος, εἴτα [δὲ] διακαρτερῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ οἰνόμελι πίνων. ἔσται οὖν τινα τῷ θεῷ δυσυπομένετα καὶ δυσασπόμενα. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἔσται, οὐχὶ ταύτας ἔξει τὰς ἀρετάς, τουτέστι τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν. εἰ δὲ ταύτας οὐκ ἔχει τὰς ἀρετάς, ἐπεὶ μεταξύ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας οὐδὲν ἔστι, τὰς ἀντικειμένους ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἔξει κακίας ὥσπερ τὴν μαλακίαν καὶ τὴν ἀκрасίαν. καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ μὴ ἔχων τὴν ὑγίαν νόσον ἔχει, οὕτως ὁ μὴ ἔχων ἐγκράτειαν καὶ καρτερίαν ἐν ταῖς ἀντικειμέναις ἔστι κακίας, ὅπερ ἀποπῶν ἐπὶ θεοῦ λέγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἔστι τινὰ δυσασπόμενα καὶ δυσυπομένετα τῷ θεῷ, ἔστι τινὰ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον αὐτοῦ μεταβλητικά καὶ ὀχλήσεως ποιητικά. ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο, δεκτικός ἐστιν ὀχλήσεως ὁ θεὸς καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς, διὸ καὶ φθορᾶς. ὥστε εἴπερ ἔστιν ὁ θεός, φθορτός ἐστιν. οὐχὶ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον. οὐκ ἄρα τὸ πρῶτον.

³⁶ Recall too that these arguments about virtue are briefly replicated in Cicero, thus confirming that they are likely to be Academic in origin.

The inclusion of the Cynic qualities *enkrateia* and *karteria* as virtues is itself a recognisably Stoic thesis, representing a view pointedly rejected by Aristotle (*EN* 7.1.1145a35–b2). The definitions of these virtues are, moreover, lifted more or less verbatim from Stoic formulations.³⁷ Presumably Stoic too is the principle that there is no state intermediate between virtue and vice.

Even the amusing illustration of virtuous abstention from sex is expressed with a favoured Stoic example. However, very significantly, it is here adapted to make a directly counter-Stoic claim: the authentic Stoic paradox is that self-controlled abstention from sex with an ugly old woman is in fact just as virtuous as abstention from sex with the beautiful Lais or Phryne.³⁸ I take this reversal to be in accord with Carneades' policy of arguing from *endoxa*. The Stoic paradox would not have the appropriate degree of credibility, so he works instead from the *doxa* that it subverts. We should thus speak here of Carneades using Stoic 'materials', rather than Stoic premises. There are even some specifically Stoic touches added to the dialectical form of argument: two negated conjunctions in place of the usual conditionals,³⁹ and the closing abbreviated form 'But not the second, therefore not the first', the form technically called *logotropos* in Stoic logic. Altogether, the spotlight has here been turned emphatically onto the Stoics. And there it largely remains throughout the entire sequence of arguments about divine virtue (152–75).

This apparently exclusive concentration on dialectical engagement with a single school contrasts with the broader use of *endoxa* that we have encountered in other arguments. Assuming the group of arguments based on god's virtue to stem from Carneades, we must ask how radical a change of methodology this amounts to. In my opinion, not as radical as might appear. The result is not, for example, an attack on Stoic theology in particular, but still on theism as such. The general problem about how gods can have moral virtues is after all as threatening to Platonic and Epicurean as it is to Stoic theology. That is no doubt one reason why the remaining arguments in the same group target virtues, such as courage and prudence, recognised by all these schools and enshrined in popular morality as well. The effect of invoking definitions and other premises drawn from Stoic ethics is not, we may infer, to limit the target to Stoic

³⁷ Cf. *SVF* 3.264–5.

³⁸ See Algra 1990, who shows that the premise used here inverts the authentic Stoic paradox.

³⁹ Cf. 169 for another negated conjunction in this same set of arguments, and Alex. Aphr. *Fat.* 207.5–21 (*SVF* 2.103) for Stoic use of negated conjunctions alongside conditionals in chain syllogisms.

theology, but to found the argument on the most up-to-date and precise set of ethical definitions available in Carneades' day.

This explanation is confirmed by the fact that, whereas the opening argument chooses to work entirely with Stoic materials, a later one in the group, despite once more relying on Stoicism for the actual definition of the virtue in question, includes an admixture of Epicurean premises as well. This argument (162–6)⁴⁰ starts by observing that, if god has all the virtues, he has prudence (φρόνησις), defined as 'knowledge of things good, bad and indifferent'. Therefore, since pain is an indifferent, god must know the nature of pain. Thus far we have a Stoic definition, followed by a recognisably Stoic evaluation (pain as an indifferent).⁴¹

In its second phase, the argument continues as follows. If god knows the nature of pain, he has experienced it: otherwise he would no more have the concept of pain than a person blind from birth has the concept of colour, or than we can know what gout feels like without having experienced it ourselves. It should be clear that this intermediate step relies on intrinsic plausibility, not on any school doctrine.

But we now come to the third and final step, which I quote verbatim (165–6):⁴²

'Yes indeed,' they say, 'but although he hasn't encountered pain he has encountered pleasure, and it is from pleasure that he has the concept of

⁴⁰ πρὸς τούτοις· εἴπερ πάσας ἔχει τὰς ἀρετὰς ὁ θεός, καὶ φρόνησιν ἔχει. εἰ φρόνησιν, ἔχει καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ κακῶν καὶ ἀδιαφόρων. εἰ δὲ ἐπιστήμην ἔχει τούτων, οἶδε ποῖά ἐστι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ καὶ ἀδιάφορα. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ὁ πόνος τῶν ἀδιαφόρων ἐστίν, οἶδε καὶ τὸν πόνον καὶ ποῖός τις ὑπάρχει τὴν φύσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ περιπέπτωκεν αὐτῷ· μὴ περιπεσὼν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἔσχε νόησιν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον ὁ μὴ περιπεπτωκὼς λευκῷ χρώματι καὶ μέλανι διὰ τὸ ἐκ γενετῆς εἶναι πηρὸς οὐ δύναται νόησιν ἔχειν χρώματος, οὕτως οὐδὲ θεὸς μὴ περιπεπτωκὼς πόνῳ δύναται νόησιν ἔχειν τούτου. ὅποτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ περιπεσόντες πολλάκις τούτῳ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς περὶ τοὺς ποδαγικούς ἀληθοῦς οὐ δυνάμεθα τρανῶς γνωρίζειν, οὐδὲ διηγουμένων ἡμῖν τινων συμβαλεῖν, οὐδὲ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν πεπονηθῶτων συμφώνως ἀκοῦσαι διὰ τὸ ἄλλους ἄλλως ταύτην ἐρμηνεύειν καὶ τοὺς μὲν στροφῇ, τοὺς δὲ κλάσει, τοὺς δὲ νύξει λέγειν ὅμοιον αὐτοῖς παρακολουθεῖν, ἢ πού γε θεὸς μὴδ' ὅλως πόνῳ περιπεπτωκὼς <οὐ> δύναται πόνου νόησιν ἔχειν. νῆ Δί', ἀλλὰ πόνῳ μὲν, φασίν, οὐ περιπέπτωκεν, ἡδονῇ δέ, κακὰ ταύτης ἐκείνον νενόηκεν. ὅπερ ἦν εὐηθες. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀμήχανον μὴ πειραθέντα πόνου νόησιν ἡδονῆς λαβεῖν· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν παντός τοῦ ἀγλύνοντος ὑπεξαίρεσιν συνίστασθαι πέφυκεν. εἴτα καὶ τούτου συγχωρηθέντος πάλιν ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ φαρτὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν. εἰ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης διαχύσεως δεκτικός ἐστι, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς ἔσται δεκτικός ὁ θεός καὶ φαρτὸς ἐστίν. οὐχὶ δὲ γε τοῦτο, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

⁴¹ It is the Stoic definition that does the real work of showing that wisdom must include knowledge of pain: that same result would have followed regardless of which of the three classes pain was deemed to belong to. Nevertheless, from the point of view of methodology it is significant that the second of the two conjoined premises is borrowed from the same school as the first, where it would have been easy to declare pain a bad by borrowing either from another school or from popular belief.

⁴² For Greek text, see the bold print at the end of n. 40 above. The conceptual basis of this argument is closely studied by Warren 2011.

pain.' But that is naïve. For, first of all, it is impossible to acquire the concept of pleasure without having experienced pain, since it is in the nature of pleasure that it is constituted by the removal of everything that causes pain. And, secondly, even if this [i.e. that god experiences pleasure without pain] is granted, it once again follows that god is destructible. For if he is susceptible to such a melting (διάχυσις), god is also susceptible to change for the worse, and is destructible. But not this last. Therefore not the original supposition.

Stoicism has receded as suddenly as it appeared, and the source of *endoxa* is now unmistakably the Epicureans. The proposal that god enjoys pure pleasure already sounds Epicurean, and thoroughly un-Stoic. Although it has Aristotelian credentials as well (e.g. *Metaph.* Λ 7.1072b16–18), the next move puts it beyond doubt that the opponents envisaged are Epicurean: 'it is in the nature of pleasure that it is constituted by the removal of everything that causes pain' (κατὰ γὰρ τὴν παντὸς τοῦ ἀλγύνοντος ὑπεξαίρεσιν συνίστασθαι πέφυκεν). This identification of pleasure with the removal of all pain is not only a uniquely Epicurean tenet, it is here even pointedly cast in the language of Epicurus' *Sent.* 3 (ὁρος τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἡδονῶν ἢ παντὸς τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ὑπεξαίρεσις). At the same time, however, Carneades' rewording suppresses Epicurus' most controversial claim, that the removal of pain is the 'limit' of pleasure, i.e. that there is no greater pleasure than the total absence of pain, thus broadening the premise's endoxic appeal.

Finally, the argument's closing identification of pleasure as a 'melting' ingeniously brings the two schools – the Stoic and the Epicurean – into partnership. The terminology of διάχυσις as applied to pleasure was Epicurean (cf. Plut. *Non posse* 1092d), but was taken up by the Stoics as well.⁴³ Where the Epicureans of course regarded this melting as a good state, the Stoics classified it negatively as a passion, explaining that what melts away is nothing less than virtue itself (D.L. 7.114). Undoubtedly the attribution of hedonic 'melting' to the gods is here primarily Epicurean in spirit, since it is represented as something admirable and divine, but the choice of terminology suggests that the argument, taken as a whole, is drawing its material from an unholy alliance of Carneades' Stoic and Epicurean opponents.

Such a strategy goes beyond, but is fully in keeping with, what we have discerned again and again in the Carneadean arguments: not an attack on

⁴³ Cf. Galen, *PHP* 4.2.4–6, where the equation of pleasure with διάχυσις is attributed jointly to Epicurus and Zeno of Citium.

one school's theology, but an attack on theism as such, borrowing its endoxic premises from a mixture of philosophical and other sources.⁴⁴

Provided that the various endoxic premises within a single argument are not actually inconsistent with each other – and as far as I can see they are not – the method makes obvious sense. Carneades' ultimate aim is to find equally strong arguments for and against the existence of god. It is in the very nature of this enterprise, and indeed of Carneades' basic epistemological stance, that neither side can attain cognitive certainty. What we would expect of him is that each of the two opposed positions should be shown to be equally 'convincing' (πιθανόν, *probabile*). And for that he needs to start from premises which themselves have a reasonable degree of convincingness. The kinds of *endoxa* we have seen him deploying appear extremely well suited to the task.

Although there are many more of these theological arguments awaiting examination, I have by now probably said enough to rest my case. Carneades' theological arguments, I conclude, were not attacks on the Stoics, but dialectical defences of atheism, drawing on a broad range of *endoxa*, only some of them Stoic, and aimed at encouraging suspension of judgement about the existence of god.

Did Carneades, then, never attack Stoic theology? Undoubtedly he did.⁴⁵ He attacked it, however, not by the kind of indirect insinuation that has commonly been detected in the arguments recorded by Sextus. Rather, as might have been predicted, he did it by arguing directly against specifically Stoic theological tenets. Two aspects of Stoic theology in particular are known to have provoked direct assaults from him. One was the school's doctrine of anthropocentric providence (Cic. *ND* 1.4),⁴⁶ the other its belief in divination (Cic. *ND* 2.162–3). For example, Cicero (*Div.* 2.9–10) reports a Carneadean argument closely modelled on Plato, *Republic* 1, which asks what domain there is for divination to operate in that is not already pre-empted by some other faculty or skill.

A further glimpse into those mainly lost arguments can be gained from his recorded critique of divine foreknowledge (Cic. *Fat.* 32–3). Chrysippus, as a committed determinist, had argued that the present

⁴⁴ Cf. Warren 2011: 58–9 on the problems of explaining why Sextus should combine Stoic and Epicurean premises in this way. My feeling is that the problem recedes once we reframe it as a question about Carneadean use of *endoxa*.

⁴⁵ Cf. Görler 1994: 887.

⁴⁶ The Plutarchan passage quoted by Porphyry, *Abst.* 3.20.3 (part of *SVF* 2.1152), on the pig, is a clear example, but Lactantius, *De ira Dei* 13.9–10 (*SVF* 2.1172), with a generic attribution to 'the Academics', is probably also Carneadean.

existence of a comprehensive set of truths about the future entails that there are already antecedent causes sufficient to bring about the predicted events. Carneades successfully challenged this link between truth and cause, and with it brought into question the Stoic assumption that divine omniscience is even possible. Not even Apollo, he maintained, could know truths about the future if the causes of the predicted events did not yet exist. Knowledge depends on evidence, and just as knowledge of the past depends on inspection of its present effects, so too knowledge of the future depends on inspection of its present causes.

Whether such arguments belonged to a different, more directly adversarial, part of Carneades' oeuvre, or should themselves somehow be inserted into the same dialectical strategy as we have met in the anti-theistic arguments, is a question that might repay investigation, albeit on another occasion.

The End of the Academy

Mauro Bonazzi*

14.1 *Status quaestionis*

One remarkable result of the great era of German *Altertumswissenschaft* was the reconstruction of the history of the Academy and of its scholars – an impressive application of Niebuhr’s claim that the historian is someone who ‘can make a complete picture from separate fragments’.¹ Indeed, in the ancient sources frequent mention is made of Athenian philosophical life – often in association with the Academy – yet always in a scattered and fragmentary way. The best-known episode is the edict by the Emperor Justinian, who closed the school in AD 529. This was the year of the foundation of the first Christian monastery by St Benedict in Montecassino: a very symbolic date, marking the end of the ancient institution and the beginning of a new religious and educational system. But history also tells us of more benevolent Emperors: Marcus Aurelius, above all, who restructured Athenian philosophical teaching in AD 176. Less famous yet no less important were the many Academic and Platonist professors operating in Athens, such as, for instance, Ammonius, who had been Plutarch’s teacher in the first century AD, or Calvenus Taurus, who was active in the second century AD. But how are we to make sense of these confusing testimonies? Demonstrating great patience and erudition, the German scholar Karl Gottlob Zumpt ordered these sources and filled in their gaps, an effort that resulted in his history of the Academy from Plato to Justinian, which is summarized in his ‘Tabelle über die Succession der Scholarchen in Athen’.² This list was readily incorporated in the monumental *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* by Ueberweg and Praechter.³ Since then, Zumpt’s account has exerted an almost

* I wish to thank Pierluigi Donini and Tiziano Dorandi for many helpful suggestions, and Nuria Scapin and Sergio Knipe for checking my English.

¹ Glucker 1978: 335.

² On Zumpt, see Glucker 1978: 330–7 with further bibliographical references.

³ Ueberweg and Praechter 1926: 663–6.

all-pervasive influence, as the following excerpt from another authoritative book on the classical world testifies:

We can follow the succession – *diadoche* – in the four greatest schools almost without a break through the Hellenistic period and to the end of Antiquity.

The above quotation from *A History of Education in Antiquity* by Henri-Irénée Marrou⁴ shows that Zumpt's conclusions remained dominant throughout the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century. However, they did not endure until the twenty-first century: in the 1970s his reconstruction was systematically refuted by many scholars, most notably John Lynch in his book on the Lyceum (1972) and John Glucker in his book on the Academy (1978). In sum, these scholars demonstrated that if Justinian closed any school (which is a controversial claim in itself), what he closed was a Neoplatonic school that had little or no relation to Plato's Academy. Likewise, the various Academies run by professors such as Ammonius and Taurus also bore no institutional relation to the Platonic Academy, and the same applies to the imperial school founded by Marcus Aurelius. This is clear since the Academy ceased to function around 85 BC, at the time of the first Mithridatic War and of Sulla's siege of Athens (the city fell in March of the year 86 BC).⁵

14.2 A New Challenge?

The groundbreaking monographs by John Glucker and John P. Lynch elicited growing interest in the Hellenistic Academy and in early Imperial and late antique Platonism – in brief, in the history of Platonism in all its ramifications – and brought about a better understanding of both its philosophical and historical dimension. As a consequence of this renewed interest, specific aspects of the reconstruction proposed by the two scholars were also reconsidered and some major objections were raised. But it was not until recently that historians finally addressed the issue of the end of the Academy, reaching the general consensus that it ceased to exist during Sulla's siege. Yet even this conclusion eventually came to be questioned. A fleeting remark in Charles Brittain's book on Philo of Larissa is particularly noteworthy:

⁴ Marrou 1956: 207.

⁵ For a full description of these events, see Ferrary 1988: 435–94. On their consequences for the philosophical schools, see now Sedley 2003a.

The myth of significant damage to, or the destruction of the Academy, is unfounded: both reports mention only the harvesting of wood by Sulla's troops – the Academy lying outside the city walls – for siege engines (Plutarch, *Sulla* 12; Appian, *Mith.* 30). If Philo chose to return to Athens, and if there were anyone there to teach, he could have lectured in the Academy until his death.⁶

This brief but challenging remark occurs in the section of Brittain's book devoted to the last years of Philo. We know that Philo fled with other Athenian *optimates* to Rome in 89/8 BC, where he remained for some years as a highly appreciated philosopher; and it seems safe to assume that he died in 84/3 BC.⁷ But where did he die? Did he die in Rome, as the majority of scholars maintain? It is by tackling this problem that Brittain raises doubts about the end of the Academy, for the general consensus that Philo never returned to Athens is grounded on the assumption that Sulla's destruction of the Academy left him with no reason to go back. But if this very assumption is confuted, i.e. if it is not at all the case that the Academy was destroyed and that Philo had no colleagues or pupils left in the Academy after Sulla's conquest, what would have prevented him from returning to Athens and dying there? 'If Philo chose to return to Athens, and if there was anyone there to teach, he could have lectured in the Academy until his death.'

Brittain's remarks are indeed very cautious. Far from attempting to impose new views, they simply raise legitimate doubts about what he regards as some too readily accepted facts: namely, that Philo never returned to Athens, because the Academy no longer existed. But, insofar as he dismissed as a myth what had been hitherto regarded as an historically ascertained fact, the consequences of Brittain's hypothesis are very significant. A fresh and more thorough analysis of this issue is therefore called for.⁸

Brittain's remark is particularly helpful in that it points out that two problems need to be addressed, and not just one: the problem of the destruction of the Academy, and the problem of the cessation of its activities. Clearly, the two do not necessarily coincide. For while it is true that the former problem implies the latter, the opposite is not necessarily true. The destruction of the Academy certainly precluded the possibility of lectures being given within its walls (and there is no evidence that they were

⁶ Brittain 2001: 68.

⁷ Cf. Dorandi 1991b: 17–20.

⁸ Gucker 2004 carefully reviewed Brittain's book, yet did not touch upon this point.

given elsewhere in Athens, as we shall see below). However, the interruption of the activities of the Academy does not exclusively depend on its physical destruction; or, to turn the problem around: the destruction of the Academy is not the only cause of its closing, and in principle there is nothing to rule out the possibility that the Academy ceased to function even without being destroyed. These two points need to be addressed separately.

With regard to the first question, it is important to note that the surviving testimonies do not say anything explicit about the destruction of the Academy. Plutarch and Appian, our two main sources, allude to the destruction of the woods but not of the Academy;⁹ nor does Cicero say anything overt about it in *De finibus* 5, in which the author tells of a visit he made with some of his friends to the gymnasium of the Academy in 79 BC:

My dear Brutus, once I had been attending a lecture of Antiochus, as I was in the habit of doing, with Marcus Piso, in the building called the School of Ptolemy; and with us were my brother Quintus, Titus Pomponius, and Lucius Cicero, whom I loved as a brother but who was really my first cousin. We arranged to take our afternoon stroll in the Academy, chiefly because the place would be quiet and deserted at that hour of the day. Accordingly at the time appointed we met at our rendezvous, Piso's lodgings, and starting out beguiled with conversation on various subjects the three quarters of a mile from the Dipylon Gate. When we reached the walks of the Academy, which are so deservedly famous, we had them entirely to ourselves, as we had hoped. Thereupon Piso remarked: 'Whether it is a natural instinct or a mere illusion, I cannot say; but one's emotions are more strongly aroused by seeing the places that tradition records to have been the favourite resort of men of note in former days, than by hearing about their deeds or reading their writings. My own feelings at the present moment are a case in point. I am reminded of Plato, the first philosopher, so we are told, that made a practice of holding discussions in this place; and indeed the garden close at hand yonder not only recalls his memory but seems to bring the actual man before my eyes.

⁹ Plut. *Sull.* 12 (transl. Perrin): 'Against this city [Athens], therefore, Sulla led up all his forces, and investing the Piraeus, laid siege to it, bringing to bear upon it every sort of siege-engine, and making all sorts of assaults upon it. [...] And when timber began to fail, owing to the destruction of many of the works, which broke down of their own weight, and to the burning of those which were continually smitten by the enemy's fire-bolts, he laid hands upon the sacred groves, and ravaged the Academy, which was the most wooded of the city's suburbs, as well as the Lyceum'; App. *Mith.* 30 (transl. White): 'His wood he cut in the grove of the Academy, where he constructed enormous engines.' One further testimony is Athenion's discourse presented by Posidonius (*ap. Ath.* 5.213d = Posidon. fr. 253 Kidd): the gymnasia are in a squalid condition and the philosophical schools silent; but on the reliability of the passage, see the critical remarks in Ferrary 1988: 441–4.

This was the haunt of Speusippus, of Xenocrates, and of Xenocrates' pupil Polemo, who used to sit on the very seat we see over there [...].

But I [i.e. Cicero], Piso, agree with you; it is a common experience that places do strongly stimulate the imagination and vivify our ideas of famous men. [...] All over Athens, I know, there are many reminders of eminent men in the actual place where they lived; but at the present moment it is that alcove over there which appeals to me, for not long ago it belonged to Carneades. I fancy I see him now (for his portrait is familiar), and I can imagine that the very place where he used to sit misses the sound of his voice, and mourns the loss of that mighty intellect [...].

'But Lucius,' he [i.e. Piso] asked, 'do you need our urging, or have you a natural leaning of your own towards philosophy? You are keeping Antiochus's lectures, and seem to me to be a pretty attentive pupil.' 'I try to be,' replied Lucius with a timid or rather a modest air; 'but have you heard any lectures on Carneades lately? He attracts me immensely; but Antiochus calls me in the other direction; and there is no other lecturer to go to'. (*Fin.* 5.1–2, 4, 6; transl. Rackham)

From this text it appears that, at least until 79 BC, everything was up and running in the Academy (the nostalgia is for the classes, not for the building itself), and this has been interpreted by John Lynch as an indication that the Academy, after being destroyed or heavily damaged during the Mithridatic War, had been 'rebuilt or repaired'.¹⁰ Although this possibility cannot be ruled out, another conclusion can be drawn from these testimonies: that the Academy was never destroyed or heavily damaged, as John Glucker had already suggested long before Brittain.¹¹ Perhaps it may seem rather preposterous to claim that the destruction of the Academy is a 'myth'; still, on the basis of the extant sources, its destruction can no longer be held as an historically ascertained fact. Unfortunately, our sources are too scanty to allow for any conclusive solution.

If we assume that the Academy was not destroyed, what would be the consequences for the second problem? In principle, if it was not destroyed, the Academy could well have continued to function – at least, in principle. But do we possess any positive evidence for this? Luckily, the testimonies on this issue are more numerous and the answer seems to be mostly negative: the Academy appears to have stopped functioning. It

¹⁰ Lynch 1972: 187.

¹¹ Glucker 1978: 373.

seems quite clear, for instance, that already by Seneca's time there was no longer any Academic teaching being imparted in Athens, be it by the institutional Academy or Antiochus' school:¹²

Accordingly so many groups of philosophers have died out with no successor. The Academics, both the older and the newer, failed to leave an heir. (*QN* 7.32.2, transl. Lynch)

A similar verdict was expressed by Cicero in 45 BC:

Take for example the philosophical method referred to, that of a purely negative dialectic which refrains from pronouncing any positive judgment. This, after being originated by Socrates, revived by Arcesilaus, and reinforced by Carneades, has flourished right down to our own period; though I understand that in Greece itself it is now almost bereft of adherents. (*ND* 1.11, transl. Rackham)

Even going further back in time, what emerges from the remaining testimonies about the Academy does not substantially differ from what is claimed in the two texts cited above. First of all, the most important testimonies unanimously speak of Philo as the last head of the Academy, thus suggesting that it was with him that the activity of the school ceased.¹³ Moreover, the text from Cicero's *De finibus* 5 quoted above seems to endorse this conclusion. In 79 BC there was Antiochus' school in the Ptolemaeum,¹⁴ but nothing was going on in the Academy. As John Lynch has already noted, 'such passages suggest that the "New Academy", the school which had evolved through a succession of scholars from Plato, had failed and that only the school of the "Academic" eclectic Antiochus resumed operation in Athens after the Mithridatic War. Though Antiochus is often called a pupil of Philo, he is never said to have succeeded him.'¹⁵

Some scholars, however, have argued that minor elements in Cicero's testimony, when correctly interpreted, point in the opposite direction. First of all, should we not interpret the mention of the crowd (*turba*) gathering in the Academy in the morning as a possible indication that

¹² See Glucker 1978: 337–42.

¹³ See, for instance, *Luc.* 11; *Luc.* 16–17; *ND* 1.11. On Philodemus' testimony, see Hatzimichali in this volume.

¹⁴ The Ptolemaeum was another gymnasium in Athens. Glucker 1978 has conclusively shown that Antiochus was never elected head of the Academy and that his *diatribē* in the Ptolemaeum has nothing to do with the Academy. Interestingly, according to Apollodorus of Athens, Charmadas too lectured in the Ptolemaeum: see Phld. *Acad. Ind.* XXX with Dorandi 1991a: 75–6.

¹⁵ Lynch 1972: 181.

lectures were still being given in the Academy? And is this idea not further confirmed by the allusion to the ‘lectures on Carneades’ (*audistine de Carneade*)? Emphasizing this second point, David Sedley has precisely argued that in 79 BC ‘there *are* still lectures in the Academy’, suggesting that Charmadas ‘might have succeeded Philo for a while’.¹⁶ Undoubtedly, the suggestion is intriguing, but I am not convinced that the elements on which it is based suffice to prove it.

Firstly, how safe is it to assume that the crowd gathering in the Academy in the morning was a crowd of would-be Academic philosophers? Had the Academy been still operating, and had the crowd been there in order to attend Academic lectures, would Cicero have really omitted to mention it? Does Cicero’s silence not come across as rather strange?¹⁷ Given that the Academy was also a recreational centre, it is more likely that the crowd was gathered in the area for non-philosophical purposes.¹⁸ Secondly, just what is implied by the reference to Carneades in *Fin.* 5.6 (‘lectures on Carneades’ in Rackham’s translation)? It is indeed disappointing that the text offers no clear answer to the question, and many conflicting interpretations can be suggested. For instance, one could deny that there were any such lectures, since the text only states that Lucius was attending Antiochus’ lectures and not that there were any ‘Academic lectures’. Lucius *asks* whether there are any lectures, which suggests that the fact of there being some would have been a matter of surprise. On the other hand, if one maintains that Academic lectures were indeed being given, it must at least be admitted that it was not in the Academy: not only because Cicero’s silence would otherwise appear quite bizarre, but for a more compelling reason as well. If lectures were still given in the Academy, Lucius, the one who is supposed to have attended them, could not have done so, for the simple reason that such lectures were given in the morning. So, since it is said that Piso and the young Lucius used to attend Antiochus’ lectures (‘you are keeping Antiochus’ lectures, and seem to me to be a pretty attentive pupil’), but it also appears that Antiochus’ lectures were held in the morning, the two could not have been in the Academy at the same time. Perhaps these lectures were given elsewhere in Athens. But why not in the Academy, given that – as we have seen – everything would appear to have been up and running in 79 BC? This would require some explanation. In any case, even assuming that the lectures were delivered in the Academy, the

¹⁶ Sedley 1981: 74, n. 3; 2003a: 34.

¹⁷ Glucker 1978: III.

¹⁸ Polito 2012: 36; Görler 1994: 944.

teacher could not have been Charmadas, for Cicero implies that by 91 BC he was no longer alive.¹⁹

It is difficult, if not impossible, to settle the question once and for all, especially considering that other possibilities can be taken into account. So, for instance, a third possible explanation would be that lectures on Carneades were being given and that Lucius attended them because it was Antiochus himself who was lecturing on the subject (as might be confirmed by his later exploitation of the Carneadean division).²⁰ This reading is plausible and might help solve many difficulties. But I do not wish to insist on it too much. Perhaps it is simply safer to stop over-interpreting this prologue!

All in all, it is worth repeating that the available testimonies do not prove beyond doubt that the Academy ceased to exist with Philo: this is nowhere attested explicitly, and certain marginal passages might suggest evidence to the contrary. However, it must also be stated that such evidence is not compelling enough to withstand further scrutiny. As shown above, the alternative interpretations are even more difficult to accept. The sources do not justify the claim that there was someone, Charmadas perhaps, who was lecturing on Carneades in the Academy. On the basis of the information we presently have, the most reasonable conclusion is that the Academy ceased its activities when Philo left for Rome; and, if it is fair to assume that Philo remained the official head of school also while in Rome, one may date the closing of the Academy to Philo's death in 84/3 BC,²¹ or in any case to the period between 88 and 84 BC.

Be that as it may, a most interesting fact emerges from the available testimonies, and that is the conflicting relationship between the philosophers who were attached to the Academy.²² A case which is highly

¹⁹ Cic. *de Orat.* 2.360. See Ferrary 1988: 472, n. 122; Dorandi 1994a: 298; Dorandi 1997a: 104. If one does not accept this date, it may be argued that Charmadas continued perhaps to teach for some time after Philo's departure in the Academy (see Glucker 1978: 108–11, 251) and perhaps elsewhere (if, with Sedley, we take him to have been still alive in 79 BC, see n. 16 above). Still, nothing appears to justify the claim that he was the last head. Another candidate might be the rather mysterious Maecius, assuming the reading of *Acad. Ind.* XXXIV 2–4 is correct: see Dorandi 1991a. Critical remarks against the existence of a *diadochos* named 'Maecius' are put forward by Puglia 2000 who argues that according to the text there was one more head of the school after Philo. The text is really far too fragmentary, and to defend his suggestion Puglia introduces some unusual terms (such as *oimai*) and some uncalled-for emendations (or at any rate ones not introduced by other scholars). Given the many textual gaps, it is difficult to reach any clear conclusion.

²⁰ See *Fin.* 5.16: *Carneadea nobis adhibenda divisio est, qua noster Antiochus libenter uti solebat*: this clearly implies that Carneades was one of the subjects discussed in Antiochus' classes; cf. Bonazzi 2009: 37; see too Schofield 2012.

²¹ This probably occurred in Rome. For a recent discussion, see Puglia 2000: 200 (not mentioned in Brittain 2001).

²² See also Glucker 1978: 109.

revealing of this internal antagonism is the famous encounter that took place in Alexandria in 87 BC, as reported in Cicero's *Lucullus* (10–11): two philosophers, Antiochus of Ascalon and Heraclitus of Tyre, who had both been members of the Academy for a long time, met and discussed the views of a third Academic philosopher, Philo of Larissa, the *diadochos* in exile. The three philosophers upheld three different positions, often in polemical contrast with one another. We may further consider that Aenesidemus too was perhaps a member of the Academy and that in the very same years he was defending a fourth position, by promoting a new form of scepticism in polemical opposition to all other Academics.²³ The temptation is strong to conclude that it really makes no sense to speak of *the* Academy, in the singular. Of course, there had been contrasts and secessions even in the past (one can think of Clitomachus and Metrodorus),²⁴ but now the divergences appear to be radical, and one cannot exclude that these struggles too may have played an essential role in determining the crisis which led to the end of the Academy.

In sum, one conclusion strikes me as the most convincing of all and some explanations can be provided. In all probability, the Academy ceased its activities with Philo's flight to Rome and his subsequent death, and in this sense at least the first Mithridatic War can be regarded as having played a role in the history of the Academy: if not in terms of its physical destruction, as John Lynch suggested, at least insofar as it forced Philo to abandon Athens. In order to explain the shutting down of the Academy, some further reasons can be adduced. In the long run, as John Glucker rightly remarked, one must not neglect the key role played by the growing importance of Eastern centres such as Alexandria, Rhodes and Aphrodisias: 'the Easterners had discovered that they could do at home what they had been doing in Athens all these generations, and the teaching of philosophy was reestablished in the East.'²⁵ However, in the short run, one cannot ignore the impact of struggles, contrasts and internal secessions: these divergences also contributed to the collapse of the institution when its head was absent:

This is the way the world ends
Not with a bang but a whimper

(T.S. Eliot, 'The Hollow Men')

²³ Aenesidemus' affiliation to the Academy (as suggested for instance by Mansfeld 1996 in opposition to Declava Caizzi 1992) is however a matter of controversy. See now Polito 2014: 42–4.

²⁴ On this, see Hatzimichali in the present volume.

²⁵ Glucker 1978: 377. More generally, on the impact of the 'decentralisation of philosophy', see Sedley 2003a.

14.3 An Academic Without the Academy: Antiochus

A major figure in the last years of the Academy is Antiochus of Ascalon, and it is Antiochus' alleged secession that famously provoked vehement reactions. It is therefore worth focusing on him for a better reconstruction of the last period of the Academy. At first sight, it may appear that the polemics between Antiochus and Philo were unfruitful (this is for instance Aenesidemus' view); in fact, a crucial issue was at stake.

In spite of the fragmentary biographical sources, many of the relevant facts in Antiochus' life are known. In particular, with regard to his relationship with the Academy, the sources confirm that 1) he spent a considerable period in the Academy endorsing Philo's 'official scepticism', before 2) modifying his views and 3) eventually founding his own school, the one in which we find Cicero in 79 BC (see Cic. *Fin.* 5.1–6, quoted above). As has been definitively demonstrated by John Glucker, Antiochus was never elected the head of the Academy after Philo. What still needs to be established is when Antiochus seceded and founded his own school. Once again, there are two interconnected problems at stake: on the first it is possible to find an agreement, while with respect to the second the divergences are less easily settled. 1) When did Antiochus start to react against scepticism? With the notable exception of Fladerer, most scholars concur on this point and unanimously argue that Antiochus' contrast with Philo began in the 90s, that is before the so-called 'Sosus affair' of 87/6 BC.²⁶) But, this being the case, once Antiochus started to disagree with the official head of the school, what did he decide to do? Did he remain in the Academy or did he rather resolve to abandon it in order to go and lecture elsewhere (perhaps in the Ptolemaeum)? David Sedley, followed by Roberto Polito, has argued that Antiochus remained in the Academy until Philo's departure; it is only when the Academy ceased to function that Antiochus officially started his own *diatribē*. The main evidence is a passage from Cicero's *Lucullus*, where the Academic spokesman Cicero complains that Antiochus did not adhere to the Stoic school, once he abandoned scepticism:

But first let us have a few words with Antiochus, who studied under Philo the very doctrines that I am championing for such a long time that it was agreed that nobody has studied them longer and who also wrote upon these subjects with the greatest penetration, and who nevertheless in his old age denounced this system, not more keenly than he had previously been in the habit of defending it. Although therefore he may have been

²⁶ See, for instance, Glucker 1978: 19–21; Barnes 1989: 68–70.

penetrating, as indeed he was, nevertheless lack of consistency does diminish the weight of authority. For I am curious to know the exact date of the day whose dawning light revealed to him that mark of truth and falsehood which he had for many years been in the habit of denying. Did he think something original? His pronouncements are the same as those of the Stoics. Did he become dissatisfied with his former opinions? Why did he not go over to another school, and most of all why not to the Stoics? For that disagreement with Philo was the special tenet of the Stoic school. What, was he dissatisfied with Mnesarchus? Or with Dardanus? They were the leaders of the Stoics at Athens at the time. He never distanced himself from Philo, except after he had begun to have his own audience. But why this sudden revival of the Old Academy? It is thought that he wanted to retain the dignity of the name in spite of abandoning the reality – for in fact some persons did aver that his motive was ostentation, and even that he hoped that his followers would be styled the School of Antiochus. But I am more inclined to think that he was unable to withstand the united attack of all the philosophers (for although they have certain things in common on all the other subjects, this is the one doctrine of the Academics that no one of the other schools approves); and accordingly he gave way, and, just like people who cannot bear the sun under the New Row, took refuge from the heat in the shade of the Old Academy, as they do in the shadow of the Balconies. (*Luc.* 69–70, transl. Rackham, slightly modified)

Why did Antiochus not join the Stoics? If he did not turn to the Stoics, Sedley and Polito argue, this means that, in spite of his dissatisfaction with scepticism, he did not leave the Academy.²⁷ But does the text imply that? My objection is that, provided that one takes the polemical context in due consideration, another and more accurate explanation is possible. Indeed, what we are dealing with here are not so much historically detached reports, as polemical attacks. Cicero the Academic is charging Antiochus with being a Stoic, and the question is: if he was a Stoic, why did he not join their school? From an Antiochean point of view, the answer is simple: because he was not a Stoic.²⁸ Throughout his career Antiochus made it crystal clear that he was an Academic heir to Plato's philosophy and the Old Academy.²⁹ It was rather his adversaries who charged him with being a Stoic. Antiochus himself, although willing to take Stoic doctrines into account, assumed that these doctrines were somehow compatible with the Old Academic ones: his choice to present

²⁷ Sedley 1981: 70; Polito 2012: 32–4.

²⁸ I argue for this view in Bonazzi 2012.

²⁹ Cic. *Luc.* 70; *Acad.* 1.13; *Brut.* 232; Plut. *Luc.* 42.2–4.

his school as the Old Academy was not arbitrary. In itself, the polemical accusation of being a Stoic directed at Antiochus does not mean much.

The most important affirmation in the passage quoted above is the following: 'he never distanced himself from Philo except after he had begun to have his own audience.' As Myrto Hatzimichali correctly remarks, this phrase 'suggests that once the loyalty of these followers was secured, he *did* distance himself'.³⁰ Now, since we see Antiochus already having pupils of his own in Alexandria, this clearly means that he must have seceded before setting out for the city.³¹ How long before? Unfortunately, the sources are not explicit on this point, and one might consider two options: either he distanced himself from Philo when the latter went to Rome or else had already seceded by then. Perhaps a slight indication tilting the scale in favour of the latter option can be found in what Cicero writes in the passage above: Antiochus defected after he began to have some followers; but in order to have followers he did not need to wait for Philo's departure (Hatzimichali aptly lists a number of parallel cases of philosophers 'distancing themselves' from the official head of their school as a consequence of doctrinal divergences).³² But I am afraid that this is reading too much into the texts: it is probably wiser to follow Jonathan Barnes' example and suspend judgement on this specific point.³³

14.4 'Academic', the Academy and Plato's Heritage

One way or another, what is at stake in this controversy is of great importance. And this importance, no doubt, far transcends the 'Sosus affair': the struggle is not over institutional ownership but over a philosophical tradition. In other words, what is at stake is Plato's philosophical legacy and the controversy revolves around what it means to be a follower of Plato. On this point too some qualifications are in order. Indeed, it is usually assumed, explicitly or not, that the controversy was between Philo the Academic, which is to say the sceptic, and Antiochus the dogmatist, whether we assume he was a Stoic or a Platonist. But is this assumption correct? If not properly defined, I am afraid that this opposition is misleading with respect to both Antiochus and Philo. First, let us direct our

³⁰ Hatzimichali 2012: 14.

³¹ Glucker 1978: 18. For a more cautious view, see also Barnes 1989: 70. Polito's attempt to argue that Aristus, Aristo and Dio were not Antiochus' pupils is not convincing. In his *Acad. Ind.* Philodemus lists them as Antiochus' pupils and there is no reason to deny this testimony.

³² Hatzimichali 2012: 15.

³³ Barnes 1989: 70.

attention to Antiochus. As I have already remarked, Antiochus never regarded himself as a Stoic but always as a follower of Plato. Does this mean that we can take him to have simply been a Platonist, meaning a dogmatist opposed to scepticism? Surely not in a literal sense since, as can be inferred from the name he gave to his *diatribē*,³⁴ he regarded and presented himself as an Academic. An important point which has not yet received due attention is the fact that the term 'Academic' did not immediately become the equivalent of 'sceptic' as soon as the Academy closed. In fact, we know of at least three other authors who adopted the term without committing themselves to the sceptical Academy of the Hellenistic centuries: Eudorus of Alexandria (second half of the first century BC), Plutarch of Chaeronea (first to second century AD) and the anonymous commentator on the *Theaetetus* (probably to be dated to the first or second century AD).³⁵ These three figures disagree on many questions both with one another and with Antiochus. But they all use the term in a non-sceptical sense to claim allegiance to the school of Plato, and hence – most importantly – to his philosophy.

If this is correct, it also follows that the same applies to Philo's case. By regarding himself as an Academic, Philo was primarily and emphatically asserting his faithfulness to Plato, and only secondarily adopting a sceptical stance in the philosophical debate. In other words, Philo and Antiochus agreed on the primary meaning of 'Academic' as 'heir to Plato's philosophy'. Where they diverged was on the issue of what Plato's philosophy consisted in: a positive system later endorsed and developed by Aristotle and the Stoics or a form of sceptical investigation? It is in this sense that we should speak of Academics fighting Academics.³⁶ With regard to the history of the Academy it is therefore interesting to note that the term survived beyond the end of the school, only to progressively lose its link to it. In short, 'Academic', in the first post-Hellenistic centuries, primarily referred to Plato's heritage, and not to the physical setting of the Hellenistic Academy. This would also explain why so many Platonist schools were called 'Academies', as in the case of the one led by

³⁴ See Cic. *Luc.* 70. The same also holds for his pupil, the Academic Dio: see Str. 17.1.11 and Ath. 1.34b, with Hatzimichali 2011: 47–50.

³⁵ With regard to Eudorus, see Stob. *Anth.* 2.7.2, Anon. in *Arat. Isag.* 1.6, Simp. in *Cat.* 187.10 with Bonazzi 2013: 160–4; with regard to Plutarch and the anonymous commentator on the *Theaetetus*, see *De E* 387f, *De sera* 549c, *De def. or.* 430f–431a, *De fac.* 922a; Anon. in *Th.* 54.40–3 with Donini 2003: 248–52, Opsomer 2005: 167–75, Bonazzi 2002: 52–9. Other 'Academic' philosophers of the time who might have endorsed a non-sceptical position are Theomnestus (whom Brutus, a follower of Antiochus, heard in Athens in 44 BC, see Plut. *Brut.* 24.1) and Nestor of Tarsos (*ap.* Str. 14.675c); see Lévy 2012: 300–3 and Goulet 2005: 660–1.

³⁶ See also Tarrant 2007.

Ammonius in first-century AD Athens. Only from the second century AD did the situation change, as the term *Platōnikos* definitely came to replace *Akadēmaikos*, and the latter began to be more directly connected to the sceptical Academy of the Hellenistic age.

In conclusion, history reveals that the war had a winner: even though many of Antiochus' doctrines were decidedly rejected, it was his view that had the upper hand: from the second half of the second century AD the dominant idea was that Plato's philosophy had nothing to do with scepticism, which was rather considered as the 'dark ages' of the history of Platonism.³⁷ What is more, the subsequent adoption of *Platōnikos* as a technical term definitely contributed to the disassociation of the term *Akadēmaikos* from Plato: from the second century AD the semantic range of *Akadēmaikos* was basically reduced to the point of making it synonymous with 'sceptic', and its connection with Plato was progressively lost.³⁸ But history, at least for those who do not believe in an Hegelian credo, does not settle philosophical questions: the idea that it was the dogmatist view which ultimately came to impose itself and exercise a long-lasting influence in subsequent centuries is confirmed by the fact that 'Platonism' is often used as a synonym of 'dogmatism', yet the whole thing does not mean much. If philosophy is nothing but 'a series of footnotes to Plato' (Whitehead), Hellenistic Platonism should also be taken into account, which is something scholars do all too rarely.

³⁷ See Procl. *Theol. Plat.* 1.1; on the spread of the term *platōnikos* as an alternative to *akadēmaikos*, see Gucker 1978: 205–26.

³⁸ As the example of Favorinus shows: see Ioppolo 1993.

The Academy Through Epicurean Eyes: Some Lives of Academic Philosophers in Philodemus' Syntaxis

Myrto Hatzimichali

15.1 Introduction

The evidence available for Plato's Academy takes many forms and can be approached in many different ways, from philosophical, historical, literary or material points of view. All are equally important if we are to form a complete picture of Plato's school, its evolution, its internal workings and its influence on and interaction with those outside it. Out of all these different types of evidence, I have chosen to focus on a history of the Academy by the first-century BC Epicurean philosopher Philodemus of Gadara. This text survives only in two papyri from Herculaneum and there is a certain amount of consensus among scholars that it formed part of Philodemus' *Syntaxis*¹ of the *Philosophers* (Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων), a collection that covered a number of different schools, including the Stoics and his own Epicurean school.² Apart from the very important factual information that Philodemus offers on individual Academics, this text is also of interest because of the questions it raises about what the Academy represented for an ancient philosopher who was never its member: what did an Epicurean who was contemporary with the last phases of the Academy consider most worth recording and what sort of picture did he paint of the Academic tradition? In what follows I will highlight some ways in which Philodemus can be particularly informative not only for raw data about the Academy itself, but also for the ways in which its history was perceived from the outside.

¹ The word *syntaxis* here means 'system', 'collection', 'ordering'.

² For some doubts over whether the work on the Academy formed part of the *Syntaxis*, see Militello 2000: 106. The doubts are based on discrepancies between Philodemus' text and the parallel sections in Diogenes Laertius, who we know used the *Syntaxis*. Most scholars, however, are prepared to accept that Diogenes could have departed from his sources occasionally. See also Dorandi 1991a: 25; Longo Auricchio 2007: 219–22.

15.2 The Text

First of all, a few remarks are in order about the text itself, its contents, its difficulties and peculiarities. It survives on two carbonised papyri from Herculaneum (PHerc. 1021 and PHerc. 164), from the Villa of the Papyri that has yielded so many other texts by Philodemus and other Epicurean authors. It was edited by Mekler under the title *Academicorum Index*,³ a title still used by many scholars to refer to the text. Our knowledge of the larger Philodemian work of which it formed part comes from Diogenes Laertius, who mentions a work entitled *Syntaxis of the Philosophers* in at least ten books:

συνεπιλοσόφουν δ' αὐτῷ προτρεψαμένῳ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τρεῖς ὄντες, Νεοκλῆς Χαιρέδημος Ἀριστόβουλος, καθά φησι Φιλόδημος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς τῶν Φιλοσόφων Συντάξεως.

At his (*sc.* Epicurus') instigation his three brothers, Neocles, Chaeredemus and Aristobulus, joined in his studies, according to Philodemus the Epicurean in the tenth book of his *Syntaxis of the Philosophers*. (D.L. 10.3)⁴

The *History of the Stoa*, traditionally known as *Index Stoicorum*,⁵ has also been identified as part of the same work. It is preserved on a more badly damaged papyrus (PHerc. 1018) and thus offers less information on the Stoics than we have on the Academics. Other Philodemian texts associated with the *Syntaxis* include a history of the Epicurean Garden (PHerc. 1780), also testified to by Diogenes above, and material on the Presocratics (PHerc. 327 and 1508) and the 'Socratic' successions (PHerc. 495 and 558).⁶

Of the two papyri preserving the history of the Academy, PHerc. 164 consists only of thirty or so small fragments, and placing them in sequence or even determining which ones come from the same column has been problematic.⁷ Most of what we now read comes from PHerc. 1021, from which we have substantially more material. There are thirty-seven columns preserved, in various degrees of legibility, on the original papyrus. It was an opisthographic roll (containing text on both sides of the papyrus), and from the Oxford apograph (one of the copies that was

³ Mekler 1902 (1958). The first edition was published by Bücheler in 1869: F. Bücheler, *Academicorum philosophorum index Herculaneensis*, in *Index Scholarum Univ. Gryphiswaldensi*. Greifswald, 1869.

⁴ Cf. ὡς οἱ περὶ Φιλόδημόν φασι ('as those around Philodemus say', D.L. 10.24; the locution οἱ περὶ is likely to be a reference just to Philodemus himself).

⁵ Edited in Dorandi 1994b.

⁶ Erler 1994: 297.

⁷ Dorandi 1991a: 104.

hand-made very close to the time of unrolling) we have twelve additional columns representing sections that were written on the verso.⁸ Editors use the letters Z–M for these columns, to distinguish them from the numbered columns of the recto. Many of the difficulties faced by editors in their attempt to reconstruct the original order of the columns are due to the fact that PHerc. 1021 represents a rough draft, a fairly early stage when Philodemus was still gathering and working on his material on the Academics.⁹ This is why in PHerc. 1021 we find many marks of correction, additions and transpositions, as well as ‘unprocessed’ quotations from authors such as Dicaearchus, Antigonos of Carystus and Apollodorus of Athens, without much introduction or intervention by Philodemus himself. These difficulties with the sequence make it harder to trace a continuous and consistent train of thought, and we should also be aware of the long source citations which indicate that a lot of the time we are not actually reading Philodemus’ own words. Nevertheless, Arrighetti has recently argued that even the finished version would have retained these long quotations (in the manner of other roughly contemporary scholarly works such as Didymus’ commentary on Demosthenes, also preserved on papyrus)¹⁰ and therefore we may feel some confidence that what we can read is at least close to Philodemus’ intended final product.

15.3 Genre and Literary Tradition

As we turn our attention from the condition of the text to the contents of what does survive from Philodemus’ history of the Academy, we are faced with a further set of questions, namely: what type of work was Philodemus’ *Syntaxis* and more specifically what were his aims and methods in discussing Plato’s Academy and what, if any, difference is made by his ‘outsider’, Epicurean standpoint? It quickly becomes clear that categorising the work in terms of genre will not be straightforward. It is not simply a work of biography – even though we often speak of its different sections as the ‘Life of Plato’, the ‘Life of Speusippus’, the ‘Life of Philo’ etc. Based on Dorandi’s calculations, of a total of forty-eight surviving columns, eleven are devoted to Plato and events during his lifetime, then

⁸ Gallo 1983: 75–9.

⁹ Gaiser 1988: 42–66; Dorandi 1991a: 109–13; for a critical assessment of the implications associated with this type of work see Burkert 1993.

¹⁰ Arrighetti 2003: 22–3.

between two and three to each of Speusippus, Xenocrates, Heraclides of Pontus, Chaeron of Pellene, Polemo and Crantor. Following brief notices on Adeimantus of Aetolia and Crates of Athens, five columns are devoted to Arcesilaus, followed by four on Lacydes and three on Carneades and Crates of Tarsus. The last century of the Academy (Clitomachus, Metrodorus of Stratonicea, Charmadas, Philo of Larissa and Antiochus of Ascalon) is covered in about eight columns. Despite substantial gaps due to illegible sections of the papyrus, we can tell that there are significant variations in the length at which each of these Academics is treated by Philodemus.

Some of the material that accounts for the greater length of some 'Lives' can be traced back to the tradition of Hellenistic biography of Peripatetic/Callimachean pedigree: many of Philodemus' principal sources are in fact representatives of this tradition, including Neanthes of Cyzicus (cited at II 36), Hermippus (XI 4) and Antigonus of Carystus (IV 39). Philosophers were one category of 'illustrious men' (alongside poets, politicians etc.) who attracted the interest and curiosity of these biographers thanks to their position in society and their unusual ways. The additional Callimachean influences are particularly evident in the case of Hermippus, who is a representative of the type of 'intellectual biography' or 'literary history' that goes back to Callimachus' *Pinakes*, a work that sought to catalogue all exponents of Greek letters and their writings, including biographical material (*Suda* κ 227).¹¹ Philodemus' work is indebted to Hellenistic treatments of prominent personalities, in particular as far as the use of anecdotes is concerned, which is often thought to be a central characteristic of the genre of biography.¹² Philodemus includes, for example, the story that Plato was once sold as a slave in Aegina (III 1–15) or that Xenocrates won a drinking contest and offered the prize, a golden wreath, to a statue of Hermes (VIII 35–IV 6). Both of these anecdotes are also found in the biographies of the two philosophers in Diogenes Laertius (3.19 and 4.8).

There are also some traces of the interest in personality traits and psychological developments that would later become of great importance to 'didactic' biographers such as Plutarch, who places a lot of emphasis on exploring and revealing his subjects' characters. For example, Philodemus

¹¹ See Bollansée 1999: esp. 4–6. Bollansée (p. 6) links Hermippus' interest even in Arcesilaus to his Callimachean literary-historical interests, which is somewhat odd, given that Arcesilaus did not leave behind any written works. He does deserve a prominent place, however, in any intellectual history.

¹² See Arrighetti 2007.

(like Diogenes Laertius, 4.16) cites Antigonos of Carystus for the famous story of Polemo's drunken and violent exploits as a youth, and how, following his (pederastic?) pursuit by Xenocrates, he experienced a remarkable conversion and was turned into a paradigm of *ataraxia* (see also D.L. 4.17):

θηρᾶθεις δ' ὑπὸ Ξενοκράτου[ς] καὶ συστα[θε]ῖς αὐτῷ τοσοῦτο μετήλι[λ]αξε κατὰ τὸν βί[ο]ν, ὥστε | μηδέποτε 'μήτε' τὴν τοῦ προσώπου φαντασίαν δια[λῦ]σαι | καὶ σχέσι' ἁλλοιῶσ[αι] μ[ή]τε τὸν τόνον τῆς [φωνῆς] | ἀλλὰ ταῦτά διαφυλάττε[ιν] | ἅν δυσκ[ο]λῶτερ[ο]ν ὄ[ν]τα.

Having been pursued¹³ by Xenocrates and having spent time with him, his way of life changed so much, that he would never even relax his facial expression, nor alter his bearing nor his tone of voice, but would keep them in the same state even when he was in a bad mood. (XIII 10–19)¹⁴

Another feature that adds substantially to the length of certain sections of Philodemus' history of the Academy (such as the ones on Plato, Lacydes and Arcesilaus) is the presence of long lists of pupils or disciples, a practice that is also evident in what remains from Philodemus' work on the history of the Stoa. This special attention to teacher–pupil relationships is not associated with the Hellenistic biography of Hermippus and Antigonos so much as with the separate genre of 'Successions' (Διαδοχαί), which also flourished in the Hellenistic period with authors such as Sotion, Sosicrates, Hippobotus and Antisthenes of Rhodes.¹⁵ Their works also contained biographical anecdotes and other details about philosophers' families, places of origin etc., but their focus was more on chains of apprenticeship than on individuals. These authors were heavily used by Diogenes Laertius:

Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις τὸν μυκτῆρα αὐτὸν ἀποτραγεῖν. Ἀντισθένης δὲ ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς φησι μετὰ τὸ μηνῦσαι τοὺς φίλους ἐρωτηθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου εἴ τις ἄλλος εἴη ...

Demetrius in his work on *Men of the Same Name* says that he (*sc.* Zeno of Elea) bit off [not the ear] but the nose. According to Antisthenes in his *Successions*, after informing against the tyrant's friends, he was asked by the tyrant whether there was anyone else in the plot ... (D.L. 9.27)

¹³ On the pederastic connotations of the word *θηρᾶθεις*, which reveal the particular interests of Philodemus' source here (Antigonos of Carystus), see Warren 2002: 161–3.

¹⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from Philodemus' history of the Academy follow Dorandi 1991a.

¹⁵ See Giannattasio Andria 1989. For the relevant work by Hippobotus see Engels 2007.

Εὐδοξος Αἰσχίνου Κνίδιος, ἀστρολόγος, γεωμέτρης, ἰατρός, νομοθέτης. οὗτος τὰ μὲν γεωμετρικὰ Ἀρχύτα διήκουσε, τὰ δ' ἰατρικὰ Φιλιστίωνος τοῦ Σικελιώτου, καθὰ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Πίναξί φησι. Σωτίων δ' ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς λέγει καὶ Πλάτωνος αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι.

Eudoxus son of Aeschines, from Cnidos; astronomer, geometer, doctor and legislator. He learned geometry from Archytas and medicine from Philistion the Sicilian, as Callimachus says in his *Pinakes*. Sotion in his *Successions* says that he was also a pupil of Plato. (D.L. 8.86)

ἦσαν δὲ Ζήνωνος μαθηταὶ καὶ οἶδε, καθὰ φησιν Ἱππόβοτος: Φιλωνίδης Θηβαῖος, Κάλλιππος Κορίνθιος, Ποσειδώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, Ἀθηνόδωρος Σολεὺς, Ζήνων Σιδώνιος.

And furthermore the following according to Hippobotus were pupils of Zeno: Philonides of Thebes; Callippus of Corinth; Posidonius of Alexandria; Athenodorus of Soli; and Zeno of Sidon. (D.L. 7.38)

Philodemus takes particular interest in the different methods of succession for Academic scholarchs. We learn that Plato's nephew Speusippus inherited the headship directly from Plato: *Σπεύ[σιππος] μὲν οὖν πα[ρ'] αὐ[τοῦ] [Πλ]άτων[ος] νο[σ]ῶν' διεδέ[ξε]το τὴν δ[ια]τριβή[ν]*, 'Speusippus inherited the school from Plato himself while he was ill' (VI 28–30). A little later Xenocrates was voted in by the young members of the school: *οἱ δ[έ] νεανίσκοι ψηφ[ο]φορήσαντες ὅστις αὐτῶν ἡγή[σ]ετα[ι]*, *Ξενοκράτη[ν] εἰλοντο*, 'the young members held a vote on who would lead them and chose Xenocrates' (VI 41–4).¹⁶ In the mid third century BC the young members also voted for a certain Socratides on the basis that he was the eldest, but he ceded the headship to Arcesilaus: *ἐκχωρήσαντος | αὐτῷ τῆς διατριβῆς Ωκρατίδου τινός, ὃν διὰ τὸ πρεσβύτατον εἶναι προεστήσαν[θ'] ἑαυτῶν οἱ νεανίσκοι συν|ελθόντες*, 'after a certain Socratides, whom the young members got together and selected as their leader, ceded the school to him' (XVIII 2–7, cf. D.L. 4.32). Later still, Clitomachus 'burst into' the Academy after having taught for a while at a different location, the Palladium: *Κλε[ιτόμα]χος εἰς | Ἀκαδήμειαν | ἐπέβαλεν | μετὰ πολλῶν γνωρίμων*, 'Clitomachus burst into the Academy with many associates' (XXIV 32–4).¹⁸

It is worth emphasising at this point that the 'Successions' genre and Philodemus' own take on it was not only about who followed who (and

¹⁶ Diogenes Laertius reports that an ailing Speusippus invited Xenocrates especially to take over the school (4.3).

¹⁷ Perhaps the location of one of Athens' homicide courts.

¹⁸ Diogenes states that Clitomachus succeeded Carneades (4.67), without any reference to the scholarchs of Carneades the Younger and Crates of Tarsus mentioned by Philodemus at XXV 40–XXVI 4.

how) as head of the school. There was also a keen interest to establish an unbroken line of teacher–pupil connections and classify *everyone* who was ever a member of the Academy, even the less prominent individuals that we know nothing about from other sources. In total, there are upwards of 150 names of Academic philosophers or their pupils to be found in Philodemus' history.¹⁹ This preoccupation to catalogue even minor personalities through their connection with prominent teachers is one feature that Philodemus' work shares with the 'Successions' genre, as opposed to that of biography of 'famous men'. A further such feature is the interest in listing and distinguishing between authors and other notable personalities of the same name (cf. O 20–30, XXIV 2–4). This trend is best illustrated in the *Περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων* (*On Poets and Prose Writers of the Same Name*) by Demetrius of Magnesia (dated in the first century BC, cited several times by Diogenes Laertius).²⁰

15.4 Philodemus' 'Succession'

It appears that there are two sides to the 'Successions' genre and Philodemus' take on it in particular: on the one hand it goes back to the drive for exhaustive cataloguing and all-inclusive systematisation as practised by the scholars working in Alexandria. I am thinking here of the tradition initiated mainly by Callimachus' *Pinakes* (see above), which was later pursued also by Apollodorus of Athens, whose *Chronica* ('Chronology') contained systematic chronological investigations that provided the basis for sequential narratives, and was heavily used by Philodemus and Diogenes Laertius among others. This emphasis on exhaustiveness and systematisation could sometimes lead to arbitrary postulation of teacher–pupil relations, in the effort to 'fit everyone in' and emphasise the unbroken continuity of Greek philosophy. However, in the case of the Academy at least, Philodemus could count on fairly robust evidence of a continuous institutional succession throughout the Hellenistic period, until the early first century BC. In fact the Academy often functioned as a prototype in ancient historiography on philosophical schools, and equivalent lines of succession were retrospectively constructed for other philosophical traditions on its blueprint.²¹

¹⁹ See Dorandi's 'Prosopografia Academica', Dorandi 1991a: 259–66 and Dorandi 1990: 2414.

²⁰ On Demetrius see Mejer 1981.

²¹ Cf. Mansfeld 1999a: 24; Dorandi 1999b: 56.

On the other hand, we should also recall David Sedley's²² argument that Philodemus' *Syntaxis* is representative of the end-of-an-era atmosphere that prevailed in first-century BC philosophy as the Athenian schools closed or declined and philosophers moved to other emerging cultural centres. The *Syntaxis* gives the impression not only that the schools have passed through an unbroken continuous succession up to first century BC, but also, as Sedley noted, that this history is coming to an end just as Philodemus is writing in the first century. Of course he could not write about developments after his own time, but he does claim to have listed *all* of Zeno's Stoic heirs, even though he has only gone down to Panaetius, who died in 110 BC, and has made no reference to Posidonius: οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Ζ[ή]νωνος Στωικοὶ διὰ[δοχοὶ | π]άντ[ε]ς αἱ θ' αἰ[ρ]έσεις, 'all the Stoic successors from Zeno and the schools of thought' (*Ind. Sto.* LXXIX 5–7²³).

The situation is somewhat more complicated in the book on the Academy: the last person who is clearly said to have led the school is Philo of Larissa (διδασκόμε[ν]ος Κλει[τό]μαχος[ον], 'who succeeded Clitomachus', XXXIII 1–2; ἤ[ρ]ξατο | δ' ἡγεῖσθαι τῇ[ς] σχολῇ, 'he began leading the school', XXXIII 15–16). However, Philodemus continues with some remarks on Antiochus of Ascalon²⁴ and a group of philosophers, who apparently did not have a stable base but were 'itinerant' (τῶν πλανωμέ[ν]ων, XXXV 36–7); thus the ending is not as clear-cut as that of the book on the Stoa. Still, the way in which things peter out in the final column with seemingly 'leftover' names that can only with difficulty be connected to a teacher²⁵ does suggest that Philodemus did not believe that anyone had any serious claim to be running the Academy at the time when he was writing, between 60 and 50 BC.

At this point we may sum up our results so far concerning Philodemus' engagement with Plato's Academy: his history of the Academy is a series of biographical notes on prominent Academics, not only scholarchs,²⁶ with a special interest in listing their pupils and providing a comprehensive prosopography of everyone connected with the Academy, from Plato

²² Sedley 2003a, esp. 38–41.

²³ Text from Dorandi 1994b.

²⁴ In the case of Antiochus, the reading διηγ[έ]ν[ε]το should be adopted at XXXIV 34 with Puglia 2000 and Blank 2007, rather than Dorandi's διεδ[έ]ξατο. This means that Antiochus did not succeed Philo as head of the 'official' Academy; see also Hatzimichali 2012.

²⁵ Diodorus, Apollodorus(?), Heliodorus, Phanostratus, Apollonius and Metrodorus of Cyzicus, XXXV 39–XXXVI 10.

²⁶ Non-scholarchs who receive special attention include Chaeron of Pellene (XI–XII), Heraclides of Pontus (IX–X) and Crantor of Soloi (XVI–S, XVIII). See Dorandi 1990: 2413.

to Antiochus of Ascalon and beyond. This approach was dictated firstly by Philodemus' sources and the 'Successions' tradition within which he was working, and secondly by his own concern to provide 'the full story' from the standpoint of looking back at an institution that has more or less run its course. How should we react to this in terms of an assessment of the evidence value for Plato's Academy? First of all we may remark that Philodemus' presentation of a single history of one philosophical school with emphasis on succession and continuity creates a picture of unity which was and is controversial. Things might have been different if Philodemus had expounded a bit more on the thought and philosophical positions of the individuals he discusses, but doxography is largely absent from the text as we have it (and the same applies to the history of the Stoa). This absence of doxography also accounts for a sense of objectivity and impartiality prevalent throughout the surviving portions of the *Syntaxis*, which has surprised modern scholars expecting Epicurean polemics against the rival schools.²⁷ But it seems that Philodemus reserved these for other works, such as the work *On the Stoics* (PHerc. 339).

So in the remainder of this paper I will try to address these questions: is there a unified Academy to be found in Philodemus' pages? Is there any doxography? How relevant is Philodemus' Epicurean background? The discussion of these points will then lead me to two further important features emerging from Philodemus' presentation of the Academy, relating to questions of philosophical affiliation and to the role of written texts.

15.5 Philodemus and the Academics: Teaching Initiatives

The question of the unity of the Academy may be approached in two ways, from the point of view of its physical institutional history or even geography, as well as from the more ideological or philosophical point of view. I will touch upon the latter when I come to the problem of doxography, but for now I would like to draw attention to some instances where Philodemus speaks quite clearly of physical splits, with Academics distancing themselves from the location of the Academy in order to form their own teaching ventures elsewhere. Firstly, at the time of the vote to elect the successor of Speusippus, we learn that one possible rival to Xenocrates, namely Aristotle, was away in Macedonia – but the other two rivals who did stand for the headship were defeated by a few votes only and subsequently left the school: Heraclides left for

²⁷ See Arrighetti 2003: 18–19; Clay 2004: 57.

the Pontus, but Menedemus of Pyrrha set up a new teaching enterprise at a different venue: ὁ δὲ [Μενέδημ]ος ἕτερον περίπαιτον καὶ [δι]-αίτριβὴν κατε[σ]κευάσατο, 'Menedemus set up another school and course of study' (VII 8–10).

Later on, in the second century BC, we meet Zenodorus of Tyre, a pupil of Carneades who taught at Alexandria (Ζηνόδωρος Τύριος κα[τ'] Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἡγησά[μενος], XXIII 2–3).²⁸ This 'internationalisation' of Academic teaching towards the Egyptian capital is of particular interest, and it can be connected to the number of Alexandrians who joined the Academy in subsequent generations. We should also recall the Academic Heraclitus of Tyre, a pupil of Philo's (XXXIV 16), for whom Cicero tells us that he was staying at Alexandria when the Roman general Lucullus came there with Antiochus of Ascalon: *erat iam antea Alexandriae familiaris Antiochi Heraclitus Tyrius, qui et Clitomachum multos annos et Philonem audierat*, 'Heraclitus of Tyre, a friend of Antiochus' who had studied for many years with Clitomachus and with Philo, was already in Alexandria' (Cic. *Luc.* 11). Carlos Lévy recently described this situation as a 'network bringing Alexandrian students to Athens'.²⁹

Returning to the theme of alternative teaching ventures by Academic philosophers, we should observe that centrifugal tendencies were not uncommon or unexpected throughout the Hellenistic Academy's history. An amusing instance of this is the story related by Diogenes, that when Crantor was seen walking around (περιεπάτει) in the Asclepieion, people started gathering around him thinking that he was setting up a new school, whereas he was there simply because he was ill (D.L. 4.24)! In the later periods of the Academy's history we know that Clitomachus set up his own school at the Palladium from where, as we saw above, he forced his way back into the Academy: σχ[ο]λὴν ἰδίαν ἐπὶ Παλλადίῳ[ι] συνεστήσατο ἄρχοντι[ο]ς Ἀγνοθέου, '(Clitomachus) set up his own school at the Palladium in the archonship of Hagnotheus' (140/39 BC, XXV 8–10, cf. XXX 8–12). In the long extract that Philodemus quotes verbatim from Apollodorus of Athens in iambic trimeters, we find a pupil of Carneades' (the name is missing in the papyrus, but it could be Charmadas) who was so impressive that he received Athenian citizenship and was allowed to teach at yet another gymnasium, the Ptolemaeum:

²⁸ This teaching activity by Zenodorus need not imply the existence of an 'official annexe' of the Academy in Alexandria, especially if we take ἡγησά[μενος] with a sense close to that of καθηγησάμενος, 'who taught', which would mean that he had a group of personal pupils.

²⁹ Lévy 2012: 291.

καὶ πραγμάτων ἔμπειρος ἱκαν[ῶ]ς κα[ὶ] | φύσει
 μνήμων, ἀνεγκλίως δὲ πολλά, ῥαδίως
 [ἐ]τ[υ]λχε πολιτείας τε κἀν[ῶ]ιξε | σχολὰς
 ἐν τῷ Π[το]λεμαίωι ...

... being sufficiently experienced in practical matters and naturally gifted with strong memory, and having read widely, he easily gained citizenship and opened a school at the Ptolemaeum ... (XXXII 3–8)³⁰

This Ptolemaeum was also the place where Cicero heard Antiochus of Ascalon in the early 70s BC: *cum audissem Antiochum, Brute, ut solebam, cum M. Pisone in eo gymnasio, quod Ptolomaeum vocatur* ..., ‘after I had listened to Antiochus, as was my habit, together with M. Piso in that gymnasium which is called Ptolemaeum ...’ (Cic. *Fin.* 5.1). Other Academics taught at various unspecified locations outside the main city area: φ[ί]δ’ ο[ὐ]κ ἐν | ἄστ[ε]ι τ[ὰ]ς σ[χ]ολὰς πεπονημέ[νοι], ‘and those who did not teach within the city’ (XXXII 13–15). By contrast, venues such as the Ptolemaeum and the Palladium were closer to the centre and the Agora, and this may have played a part in teachers’ choice to relocate there from the more remote Academy.

From all these references we can see that for Philodemus the history of the Academy was not exclusively linked to the gymnasium of that name. At least until the first century BC this gymnasium must have remained the ‘official’ focal point, but the history of Plato’s school also included derivative or even dissenting ventures set up at different locations and at different times.³¹

15.6 Philodemus and the Academics: History of Philosophy?

The question of dissenting ventures opens up the issue of different Academics’ philosophical attitudes and the extent to which these were of interest to Philodemus. Philodemus can hardly be called a historian of philosophy if all he did was list Academics and their pupils with the odd anecdote about their lives and nothing on what they thought or taught. Yet some scholars have supposed that there was no doxography in the *Syntaxis* because none survives in the extant sections. David Sedley³² called this into question, arguing that since the papyrus preserving the history of the Stoa has the biography of Zeno, the founder of the Stoa, in

³⁰ See also Arrighetti 2003: 19.

³¹ For some parallels of ‘dissent’ in other schools see Dorandi 1999b: 59–60.

³² Sedley 2003a: 31–2.

the middle of the roll, the missing first part must have been doxographical. He did not find it as easy to make the same argument for the history of the Academy that concerns us here, because the roll in question (PHerc. 1021) appears to have contained the Megarics as well, as we can tell from its closing summing-up sentence that contains a reference to Euclides.³³ Even so, it remains the case that Philodemus runs through the lives and successions of all the Academics and Stoics in the surviving portions of the text with great pace and brevity. Each of these two major schools that had comparatively long histories and many prominent members occupies less than a full book in our available evidence. It is therefore not easy to see what else Philodemus might have used to fill the ten or more books of his *Syntaxis*, if not doxographical material.³⁴

Of course it is practically impossible to tell what such putative doxographical sections would have looked like – we can only speculate, for instance, that some Epicurean critiques of other schools' positions might have surfaced there. From the parts of the history of the Academy that we can read, we have some references to individuals' philosophical attitudes, but these are often meant as an illustration of behaviour or character traits, in accordance with the biographical tradition of aligning the subject's work or thought with their life. For example, Polemo disapproved of eristic questioning and insisted that training in argument should be based on concrete facts. According to Philodemus, this made him particularly severe and intolerant of witticisms:

[ἐ]δυσ<χ>έραινε δὲ κα[ι] | τοῖς εἰς [ἀδύ]νατ' ἀνάγουσι τὰς ἐρωτήσεις,
ἀξιῶν | ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν γυμνάζεσθαι. διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπ[ι]χρίρησιν
ἀσόλοικος ἦν καὶ παντὸς ἕξω πεπτωκὼς ἀσπτεῖ[σμο]υ.

He (*sc.* Polemo) disapproved of those who drove questions to impossibilities, requiring that people train in practical questions. This is why in argumentation he insisted on linguistic correctness and avoided all witticism. (XIV 4–10)

Similarly, Arcesilaus' refusal to put forward any doctrine allegedly had an impact on his associates' demeanour, causing some to be more modest and reserved, and yet more others to adopt an arrogant and aggressive stance:

³³ Εὐκλεί[δου] | καὶ τῶν ἀ[πὸ] Πλάτωνος, | ἔτι δὲ τῶν [ἄλλω]ν [τῶ]ν ἐ[πι]γεγο[ν]υῖων ἀ[ι]ρέ[σ]εων
τ[ε] | κα[ι] δι[ὰ] δ[ι]σδοχῶν συνα[γωγ]ή, 'Collection [of the successions from?] Euclid and from Plato,
and also of the other ensuing schools and successions' (XXXVI 15–19).

³⁴ This would mean that the doxographical material was not integrated with the lives of the philosophers in question, but self-contained as in Diogenes Laertius, cf. Arrighetti 2003: 18–19 with n. 30.

δόγμα δ' οὐδὲν οὐδ' αἰ[ρεσιν συ]νετίθει. διὸ καὶ τῶν || προσιόντων
 διίσταντο κατὰ τὰ ἥθη καὶ τὰς αἰρέσ[ε]ις ἀλλήλων, ὀλίγοι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ
 κατεσταλμένον καὶ μέτριον, οἱ πολλοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ θρασύτερον καὶ
 δεσποτικώτερ[ον] | τραπέντες.

He (*sc.* Arcesilaus) did not come up with any doctrine or any set of opinions. For this reason his associates differed among themselves in character and opinions; some tended to be restrained and measured, but most turned more arrogant and aggressive. (XVIII 40–XIX 7)

It is striking that in both of these cases Philodemus' text indicates a direct causal connection between philosophical stance and outward behaviour through the use of διὸ, 'for this reason'.

There is also an instance where Philodemus reports a very specific doxographical claim, complete with the technical vocabulary of the Hellenistic debate between Stoics and Academics on epistemology and the problem of *katalēpsis* ('apprehension'):

Μητροδώρος | δὲ ὁ Στρατονικεὺς ... ἔφη [Κ]αρλινεάδου παρακηκοέναι |
 πάντας, οὐ γὰρ ἀκα[τάλη]πτα ν[ε]νομικέναι πάντα ...

Metrodorus of Stratonicea ... said that everyone had misunderstood Carneades, for he did not consider all things inapprehensible ... (XXVI 4–11)

Metrodorus of Stratonicea accused everyone of having misunderstood Carneades, because the latter was not really a champion of *akatalēpsia*, but only treated things as inapprehensible for the sake of the argument against the Stoics, as we learn from the parallel source of Augustine, *Against the Academics* 3.41.³⁵ The details of this interpretation of Carneades, in particular his putative attitude to *katalēpsis*, do not sit very well with Cicero's evidence at *Luc.* 78, according to which Philo and Metrodorus took Carneades to approve (rather than support for the sake of the argument) the notion that the wise man will *not* apprehend anything (*akatalēpsia*) and yet will hold opinions (lack of *epochē*).³⁶ Perhaps we cannot be fully certain about Metrodorus' subtle interpretation of

³⁵ *Metrodorus ... dicitur esse confessus non decreto placuisse Academicis nihil posse comprehendere, sed necessario contra Stoicos huiusmodi eos arma sumpsisse* (August. *C. acad.* 3.41). In Augustine, Metrodorus' interpretation is applied historically to all Academics, not just to Carneades.

³⁶ *nihil percipere et tamen opinari*, *Luc.* 78. On the problems of the 'Philonian/Metrodorean' interpretation of Carneades see Brittain 2001, esp. 77–82, 213–15. On our Philodemian passage Brittain says that it 'fails to clarify what Metrodorus' own view on *akatalēpsia* was' (214–15, n. 73), but presumably he must have followed what he took to be the 'correct' version of Carneades' stance. See also Gucker 2004, 122–3 and Lévy 2005: 70–6.

Carneades' stance (part of the problem is that the papyrus becomes almost illegible after the sentence quoted above), but Philodemus offers the important indication that the interpretation in question was set up polemically against the alleged misunderstanding of 'everyone' else.

As well as noting this type of dissent in the later years of the Academy, Philodemus appears also to be aware of the different phases of the Academy that we find in other doxographical sources such as Diogenes Laertius (1.14) and Sextus Empiricus (*P.* 1.220). He refers to the 'middle Academy' that was reorganised by Lacydes, in such a way that it was called 'new':

ΑΓΡΙΩΝ[...]ΑΝ | τὴν μέσσην Ἀκ[αδημει]αν | καὶ πλανῆτιν οὐδὲν ἦτι|τον τῆς
 Κυθητικῆς ζω[ι]ῆς | στῆ[σ]αι τὴν ἀγωγὴν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν κεράσαντα καὶ
 νεωτέ[ρ]α[ν] προῆσαι καλεῖσθαι.

He (*sc.* Lacydes) stabilised the Middle Academy [that was ...] and volatile no less than the Scythian way of life by combining the training out of both, with the result that it was called 'new'. (XXI 36–42)

As Long pointed out, this comparison of the Middle Academy with the Scythian way of life must be due to an impression of a lack of stability in the school's position during Arcesilaus' headship.³⁷ Lévy recently argued that Lacydes' innovations included a markedly less sceptical stance, with the 'double' model (ἐξ ἀμφοῖν) referring to the Academy's Platonic and sceptic heritage. He makes the important point that an external observer such as Philodemus would be more willing to acknowledge distinct periods and changes of orientation in the Academy than its own members would.³⁸ Similarly, Philodemus was aware of the revived name of 'Old Academy' that Antiochus of Ascalon gave to his own group (XXXV 15–16 as read by Blank 2007, cf. Cic. *Luc.* 70, *Brut.* 232).

15.7 Inter-School Relationships

This was the nature of the limited doxographical/philosophical content of the surviving portion from Philodemus on the Academy. I have already suggested that any Epicurean polemics could have appeared in separate doxographical sections, now lost. So if we inquire into Philodemus' Epicurean standpoint on the basis of the biographical

³⁷ Long 1986: 444. He connects this to Aristo's famous dictum about Arcesilaus, that 'he has Plato's head, Pyrrho's tail and the body of Diodorus' (D.L. 4.33).

³⁸ See Lévy 2005: 53–60, esp. 60.

material in the surviving parts of the *Syntaxis*, we get a picture of peaceful coexistence and friendly relationships on a personal level across the various schools, as Gigante observed.³⁹ This is nowhere more evident than in Philodemus' own personal relationship with Antiochus and his pupils. Already from the earlier editions of the text it was clear that Philodemus was friendly with the group of Antiochus' pupils including Aristo and Dio of Alexandria and Cratippus of Pergamum (he calls them 'our friends', συνήθεις ἡμῶν, XXXV 7–8). Blank's recent new readings from the papyrus show the close personal contact and mutual affection between Philodemus and Antiochus himself: ἡγαπημέ[νο]ς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς [ἡ]μᾶς ἀποδεδεγμένον, 'he (*sc.* Antiochus) had been loved by many people, including me, and had himself received us hospitably' (XXXIV 43–XXXV 2, text from Blank 2007: 89). Here we can also compare Philodemus' reference to the Stoic Apollonius of Ptolemais, a pupil of Panaetius, as 'my friend' (φίλος ἡμῶν) in his history of the Stoa (*Ind. Sto.* LXXVIII 2).⁴⁰

Therefore there does not appear to have been any cause for polemics against other schools on a personal level. Is then Philodemus' identity as an Epicurean relevant in any way? I find Gigante's response to this question particularly attractive, which takes account of the entire *Syntaxis* as one project. Gigante saw this project as an 'institutional manual', a way of packaging Greek philosophy in a concise systematic form, targeted at his Italian audience, that is an educated Roman elite.⁴¹ Crucially, the *Syntaxis* included a section on the Epicurean school (as we saw in the initial quotation from Diogenes Laertius 10.3), placing it firmly on the map of Greek philosophy on a par with schools like the Academy. There is not unanimous agreement among modern scholars as to whether the *Syntaxis* was indeed intended for Roman newcomers to Greek philosophy or internally for Epicurean converts, or indeed as to whether it portrayed the Garden as somehow superior to the other schools.⁴² But whatever might have been the particular tone of the final version of the *Syntaxis*, it remains the case that it provided Philodemus with an opportunity to assert and legitimise the position of the Epicurean school relative to other schools, as well as to present his own version of the Epicurean succession. According to Arrighetti, this historical work would

³⁹ Gigante 1995: 20–3.

⁴⁰ See Gigante 1998: 37 for a response to scholars who did not take these references seriously as personal testimonies from Philodemus.

⁴¹ Gigante 1995: 20–3.

⁴² For the view about Epicurean superiority see Gaiser 1988: 24.

also have enabled Philodemus to assert the cultural and scholarly credentials of Epicureanism vis-à-vis other schools that were already boasting such erudite products.⁴³

I have already touched upon Philodemus' evidence for friendly personal relationships among philosophers belonging to different schools. To this I would like to connect his evidence for more widespread crossover and migration from one school to another, which shows that the Academy was not a closed system of exclusive membership, and different Academics could come from different philosophical backgrounds or indeed end up at different schools. In the early years there must have been some overlap between the Academy and Aristotle's Peripatus, with some people having studied both with Plato or Speusippus and with Aristotle. Thus we have Heraclides of Pontus listed by Philodemus as an Academic, even as one who aspired to the headship of the Academy (coll. IX–X), whereas Diogenes Laertius discusses him among the Peripatetics (5.86–94). Arcesilaus, too, came across from the school of Theophrastus in the early third century BC and remarked that by comparison Polemo and the Academics seemed like gods or humans of the golden race (this anecdote comes from Antigonos of Carystus, and is also found in Diogenes, 4.22):

ἔφη δ' Ἀρκεσίλαος ὅτι αὐτῶι παρὰ Θεοφράστου μετελθόντι φανείησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν [Π]ολέμωνα ἢ θεοὶ τινες ἢ λ[ε]ίψανα τῶν ἄρχαίων ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους διατελλασμένων ἀ[νθ]ρώπων ...

Arcesilaus said that when he came over from Theophrastus Polemo and his associates seemed like gods or remnants of those ancient people of the golden race. (XV 4–10)

Among the pupils of Arcesilaus there is a reference to a 'defector' (μεταθέμενος), who eventually posited pleasure as the final end: < ... >, ὃς μετα[θέ]μενος τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀ[πέδωκε]ν τέλος ..., '[name missing] who, having switched position, said that pleasure is the *telos*' (XX 39–42). Perhaps this is the same notorious Dionysius 'the defector', who is elsewhere said to have changed from the Stoa to the Cyrenaics or the Epicureans.⁴⁴ If he also studied with Arcesilaus, this would bring the number of schools he sampled up to at least three.

⁴³ Arrighetti 2003: 26.

⁴⁴ He is mentioned twice in Philodemus' history of the Stoa (X 7 and XXIX 6). See also D.L. 7.166–7 and Ath. 7.281d. According to Dorandi 1987: 123 the material may have been wrongly inserted here in the book on the Academy, with which Dionysius is not otherwise associated.

There was traffic in the opposite direction as well, with Metrodorus of Stratonicea joining the Academy from the Epicurean school in the second half of the second century BC, because apparently he had been pushed away by Apollodorus the ‘tyrant of the Garden’:

Μητρόδωρος [Στρ]ατογι[κεῦ]ς ὁ καὶ ἰ πρότερον Ἐ[πικουρεῖ]ων ἀκ[ούσας]]. ΟΥΚ καὶ ἰ Ἀπ[ολλ]οδώρου, παραιτηθεῖ[ς] δ' [ύ]π' Ἀπολλοδώρου διὰ τοῦ[το] Καρνεάδει παραβαλ[λὼν ἐσχόλα] σεν.

Metrodorus of Stratonicea, who earlier had been a pupil of the Epicureans, of ... and Apollodorus, and having been alienated by Apollodorus he joined Carneades and studied with him. (XXIV 9–16)

Finally, we have the famous case of Antiochus' two pupils, Aristo and Cratippus, who became Peripatetics, but David Blank's recent readings indicate that Philodemus did not go so far as to speak of apostasy: ὧ[ν ἰ Ἀρίστων [μὲν] καὶ Κράτ[ιππος] ε[.]να [. α]κουσαντε[ς] ζῆλον ε[.] ἰ ἐγένοντο Περιπατῆ[τικοὶ Δ[ι]ῶν δὲ τῆς ἀρ[χ]αίας Ἀκαδημείας ‘of these men, Aristo and Cratippus ... heard ... eager to emulate ... became Peripatetics, while Dio (was a member of) the Old Academy’, XXXV 10–16.⁴⁵

15.8 Circulation of Texts

The final point I would like to touch upon in terms of the significant evidence that Philodemus provides for the history of the Academy relates to the circulation of written texts. At the very beginning of the preserved part of his work (drawing on Dicaearchus), he refers to the great influence, both positive and negative, that was exercised by Plato on the development of philosophy precisely through the availability of his written dialogues:

εὖξησεν [ν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ κατέλυσεν]. προ[ε]τρέψατο μὲν γὰρ ἀπ[ε]ρί-
ου[ς] ἰ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὴν διὰ ἰ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν λ[ό]γων. ἐπιπολ[α]ί-
ως δὲ καὶ ἰ [τινας] ἐπο[ι]ήσεν φιλοσοφεῖν ...

He promoted philosophy and destroyed it. For he encouraged innumerable people so to speak towards philosophy through his written dialogues. But he made some philosophise superficially ... (I 10–16)

⁴⁵ Blank 2007: 89. Earlier reconstructions read ἐγένοντο Περιπατῆ[τικοὶ ἀ[ποστα]τήσα[ντες τῆς] Ἀκαδημείας.

λε|ιφ[θί]ντα ὑπὸ Κράν|τορος ὑπομνήματά [φησ]ι διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν καὶ μετα|τιθέναι· τινὲς αὐτὸν ἔφα|σαν αὐτὰ γεγραφέναι, τιν[ἐς] δ' ἂ συνέγραψε κατακεκαυ[κέναι].

Cf. D.L. 4. 32: οἱ δὲ, ὅτι ἐφωράθη <Κράντορος> τινὰ διορθῶν, ἃ φασιν οἱ μὲν ἐκδοῦναι, οἱ δὲ κατακαῦσαι, 'others say that he was caught revising some writings <by Crantor>,⁴⁸ which some say he published, others say he burnt.' Such reports invite questions about Arcesilaus' possible motives, given his innovative sceptical turn – was he simply 'editing' Crantor's works or was he purposefully altering their content for his own purposes?

The reports also raise the problem of reliability, which permeates down to the later centuries of the Academy, as almost every scholar now has his lectures taken down in the form of notes by one of his pupils rather than publishing himself.⁴⁹ This practice placed Zeno of Alexandria in a particularly difficult position: he wrote notes from the lectures of

⁴⁶ Lévy 2005: 57 draws attention to the fact that the introduction of the ‘stabilising’ New Academy by Lacydes was characterised by fresh production of written philosophical treatises by the scholar.

⁴⁷ Cf. XVI 12–15, on Crantor: [. στίχων δ'] | ἔξιναι τρεῖς μυριάδας[ς, ὅς] ἔλιπε[ν], | ὧν ἔνια καὶ Ἀ[ρ]-
κεσίλαι τι[ν]ες τό[τ]ο[ι] | ἀνετίθ[ι]θ[ε]σαν, 'the writings he left behind total 30,000 lines, some of
which have been attributed by some to Arcesilaus.'

⁴⁸ This is supplied thanks to the Philodemus parallel, see Long 1986: 432 with n. 2.

⁴⁹ Arcesilaus: Πυθόδωρος [ὁ καί] | σχολὰς ἀναγράφας αὐτοῦ, XX 43–4; Telecles: Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ὁ Τηλεκλέ[ει]λους μαθητὴς [ὁ καί] | [ἀν]αγεγρα[φ]ῶς ὑπο[μν]ήμα[τ'] ἐκ | τῶν σχολ[ῶν] αὐ[τοῦ], O 32–5; for Clitomachus as an ἀναγραφεὺς of Carneades see Sextus Empiricus, *M.* 9.182.

Carneades but was publicly and forcefully rebuked by the master over their inaccuracy. Hagnon of Tarsus did a better job of it and was accordingly praised:

Ζήνων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς | ὁ καὶ σχολὰς ἀναγράσας αὐτοῦ καὶ προαπαλλάξας
– τ[...]] οὐ ἴτον δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἀναγιγνωσκομένων | [ἐλέγξει
φασί] Καρ[νε]άδην || ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁξ[ύτα]τα ... Ἄγνω Ταρσεὺς ὁ καὶ
εὐνό<ω>ς | [ἀν]αγρά[ψ]ας ἐκ τῶν σχ[ο]λῶν | πλείω{i} καὶ ἐπαινούμενος
...

Zeno of Alexandria who wrote up his lectures and died before him – they say that during a reading of the notes Carneades rebuked him in front of the others very strongly ... Hagnon of Tarsus who wrote more notes from the lectures favourably and was praised ... (XXII 37–XXIII 2, XXIII 4–6)

These references by Philodemus provide us with a valuable insight into the daily didactic practice within the Academy and constitute the earliest example of reading texts aloud in class for the purposes of instruction.⁵⁰ At the same time it is also testament to a questionable transmission of philosophical views, whereby texts still leave doubts as to what their ultimate source thought or what arguments he made (we may recall here how Metrodorus was able to claim that Carneades had been misunderstood by all). This stands in stark contrast to the premium placed from the first century BC onwards on authoritative foundational texts. Perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to claim that this impression of doubt and uncertainty created by Philodemus is an appropriate one for the sceptical Academy that denied the possibility of certain knowledge.

15.9 Conclusions

In conclusion, Philodemus' history of the Academy brings to light or draws our attention afresh to some valuable pieces of evidence about Plato's Academy: it introduces us, albeit briefly and partially in some cases, to 150 or so of its members, all organised in systematic teacher–pupil successions, with the occasional detail about succession procedures, and conveying an awareness that these successions have more or less come to their end by the time he is writing. Philodemus' work does not tell us much about what these Academics thought, but from its 'successions' perspective it addresses discontinuities and 'breakaways' in the Academy's history, an issue about which Philodemus as an Epicurean

⁵⁰ Mansfeld 1994: 193.

could speak more freely than a committed Academic. We also learn about collegial relationships of Academics with philosophers from other schools, contributing to the picture of Greek philosophers as a peacefully coexisting community that Gigante noticed in Philodemus' presentation.⁵¹ The lack of emphasis on ideological differences between the schools may be linked to a broader interest in free-thinking and free-speaking philosophical education irrespective of doctrines, as Clay has argued.⁵² Finally, Philodemus' narrative raises the problem of the extent to which the views of prominent scholars are recoverable through written evidence. The precarious transmission of Philodemus' own text does not permit us to go much further, so the precise framework in which Philodemus placed his history and its relationship with the sections on the Stoa and the Garden will remain a matter of conjecture until, perhaps, archaeology and/or technology provide us with fuller texts.

⁵¹ Gigante 1995: 20–3.

⁵² Clay 2004.

Philodemus' History of the Philosophers

Plato and the Academy (PHerc. 1021 and 164)

Introduction

The text commonly known as the *Index Academicorum*, or *History of the Academy*, and attributed to Philodemus, has been transmitted to us through two Herculaneum papyri, PHerc. 1021 and PHerc. 164. Although their extant remains do not preserve the name of the author or the title of the work, there is now unanimous agreement that they belong to Philodemus' work Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων and contain part of his account of the history of the Academy. There exist two sets of drawings (*disegni*) of the former papyrus, one in Oxford and the other in Naples, whereas there is only one set of drawings for the latter, namely the Neapolitan ones. The restitution of the text is exceedingly difficult for reasons mentioned in the latest and most complete edition, by Tiziano Dorandi (1991a). Although PHerc. 1021 is far better preserved, the middle part of the surviving columns is nonetheless badly damaged and there are major lacunae in other parts of each column as well. As for PHerc. 164, it contains only thirty-three short fragments, of which the order and the connections between them are uncertain.

Additional complications derive from the relation between the two papyri in respect of their time of composition and degree of polish. PHerc. 1021 was probably written sometime between 75 BC and 50 BC and looks like an annotated draft, whereas PHerc. 164 was produced after 50 BC and derives from an elegant and polished version of the treatise. As Dorandi points out, the relation between the two may have been direct or, more likely, indirect: they may have been connected through an intermediate copy containing partial corrections of the early draft and paving the way to the definitive text.

Philodemus' *History of the Academy* is absolutely crucial to our understanding of the structure, functions and development of Plato's school from its foundation to its effective dissolution in the first century BC. However, no English translation of the entire text has ever been published, and our aim is to fill that gap. It should be made clear that the Greek text given here is based on Dorandi's authoritative edition. Also, we consulted the earlier partial edition of Konrad Gaiser, as well as more recent publications by David Blank, Enzo Puglia, Kilian Fleischer and others. Our own editorial proposals are few and tentative, for, unlike Dorandi and other editors, we have not examined the papyrus itself. Our apparatus indicates only our departures from Dorandi's edition. Our presentation of the text follows the usual conventions indicated in the list of Editorial Signs. In order to make the text more accessible and readable, we have left out strings of letters that do not make any clear sense, marking the relevant passages as lacunae [- - -].

Readers interested in the papyrological evidence, the paleographical data, and the history of the restitution of Philodemus' treatise should turn to Dorandi's edition, as well as to earlier and later research by other experts, for the text that we offer here is intended to serve merely as a reference point for the English translation, which, as we see it, constitutes our main contribution. In fact, the Greek is meant to represent almost exactly what has been translated. In the translation, we use square brackets to indicate parts of the Greek text that are particularly damaged and whose supplementation is uncertain and speculative. We use parentheses to provide clarifications which do not correspond to anything in the Greek text but may be helpful to the modern reader. Lacunae and strings of letters that do not make definite sense are indicated in the translation by three dots. The annotation by Myrto Hatzimichali is mostly restricted to information directly relevant to the contents of the *History of the Academy*. Further information having to do with broader historical and philosophical issues can be found in Hatzimichali's article in the present collection, and also in the discussion of various aspects of the work by other contributors to the volume. We are grateful to Richard McKirahan and David Sedley for their valuable input.

Paul Kalligas and Voula Tsouna
Spetses, September 2015

Editorial Signs

P	Papyrus Herculanensis 1021
$\alpha\beta\gamma$	Uncertain letters
$[[\alpha\beta\gamma]]$	Letters erased by scribe
$\{\alpha\beta\gamma\}$	Letters deleted by editor
$[\alpha\beta\gamma]$	Letters supplemented by editor
$<\alpha\beta\gamma>$	Letters added by editor
.....	Letters either unreadable or lost
- - -	Lacuna comprising an unspecified number of letters

I*

27 - - - οὕτω τὴν φιλοσοφίαν] ἐκ τῶν

I

ἐνδε[χ]ομένων [μέ]ν ἐπα-
νεκαίνισε πάλιν ἅπασαν,
τὴν τ' ἐ. . . .[ο]υσ[αν δι]ὰ τοῦτ'
ἐν τοῖς [λ]όγοις εὐρυθμίαν
5 προσέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πολ-
λὰ ἐπεισηνέγκατο ἰδ[ια, δι' ὧ]ν
— εἴ γε διὰ παρρη[σίας δεῖ τ]ᾶ γ[ε]
νόμενα λέγειν — π[- - -
δὴ τῶν πάντων [ἀνθρώ-
10 πων οὗτος εὗρησεν] φιλο-
σοφίαν καὶ κατέλυσ[ε]. προ-
ετ]ρέψατο μὲν γὰρ ἀπ[ε]ίρου[ς]
ὥς εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὴν διὰ
15 τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν λ[ό-
γων]. ἐπιπολ[α]ίως δὲ καὶ
τινας] ἐπο[ί]ησε φιλοσοφεῖν
φαγερὰν ἐκτρέ[π]ων δια-
τρι[βήν], φησὶ δ' ὅτι [- - -
. καὶ πι νασ[- - -
20 . . . [τ]οῦ φιλ[οσ]οφεῖν ἐνδό-
σιμον ἔδω[κεν], ὥστε μήτε [με-
μαθηκότα[ς] . . . ματων
τε μηδὲν μ. . . τ. . . . με-
νους μαθε[ῖν οὐ] μόνον εἰς
25 τὸ τῶν φιλ[οσ]όφων αὐ]τοὺς
καταριθμε[ῖσθαι ἀ]λλὰ

I 1–43 = Dicaearchus, fr. 46A Mirhady

I* 27 οὕτω τὴν φιλοσοφίαν suppl. Gaiser

I 12 μέν corr. Kalligas: μέγ Dorandi

17–18 [δια]τρι[βήν] suppl. Praechter

25 φιλ[οσ]όφων αὐ]τοὺς suppl. Tsouna

26 καταριθμε[ῖσθαι] suppl. Tsouna

Translation

I*

... [in this way],

I

on the one hand, he revived again by all possible means [the whole of philosophy] and also for this reason he gained in addition ... this gracefulness in his arguments and, on the other hand, he himself introduced for the first time many ideas of his own, by means of which – if indeed one must state with frankness how things stand – ... of all people this man advanced philosophy and also finished it off. For while he impelled, as it were, inexperienced persons towards it by composing the [dialogues], nonetheless he also [caused some people] to engage in philosophy in a superficial manner, changing the course of an illustrious [occupation] ... Besides, he (*sc.* Dicaearchus) says that ... he gave them a basis for engaging in philosophy, so that neither (those who) have learned ... nothing ... to learn [not] only for themselves to be counted in (the group) of [philosophers] but also ... to be convinced, so that [some]

Col. I 1–41

Almost nothing is legible from col. I*; for some possible reconstructions see Dorandi 1991a: 203.

Col. I begins with a general assessment of Plato's contribution to philosophy, the source for which is thought to be Dicaearchus (see Dorandi 2001: 343–50; cf. II 5). The text praises Plato for reviving philosophy in an elegant manner ('gracefulness'), but finds his personal contribution ('many ideas of his own') ambivalent. According to Philodemus/Dicaearchus, the composition and availability of written dialogues did on the one hand encourage many to take up philosophy but, on the other, allowed many to do so superficially. Lines 18–33 are badly damaged, but the column seems to end with a remark about lesser intellects hiding behind the master's authority.

Barnes 1989: 146–7 takes issue with Gaiser's claim to find support here from Dicaearchus for the view that Plato's dialogues were merely protreptic and did not contain the substance of his philosophy. As Barnes points out, 'he impelled people towards philosophy' (προετρέψατο, I 11–12) is a statement about the effects of Plato's dialogues, not about his intentions.

- καὶ π[- -]φα
- - -
- 34 α. . πε[ί]θεσθαί, [ῶσ]τε εἰς
35 ἐκεῖνο[ν π]αρασπώμε-
νο[ί] τι[νες] ἱκανὸν ἔχειν
πρόβλη[μ]α τῆς ἰδίας ἀμαθί-
ας νομ[ίζ]ουσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ
α.ιν μόνοι τῇν
40 τοῦ γ[ενναίου]υ καὶ σοφωτά-
του διδ[ασκάλου]υ κατανοοῦν-
τες [φιλοσοφίαν] ο μὲν ἀπε-
.του κατα

Y

-ε δὲ συνα[γαγῶ]ν παρέγρα-
ψα· «[κατε]γενόητο δέ, φη[σ]ί, καὶ τῶν μα-
θημάτων ἐπίδοσις πολλή κατ' ἐκεῖ-
ν[ον] τὸν χρόνον, ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντο[ς]
5 μ[ε]ν καὶ προβλήματ[α] διδόντος τοῦ
Π[λ]άτωνος, ζητούντων δὲ μετὰ σπου-
δῆς αὐτὰ τῶν μαθηματικῶν. τοιγὰρ
ταύ]τη<ι> [τὰ] περὶ μετρολογίαν ἦλθεν
ἐπὶ κορυφὴν τότε πρῶτον καὶ τὰ περὶ
10 τοὺς ὀρι]σμούς προβλήματα, τῶν περὶ
Ε[ὔδο]ξον μεταστησάντων τὸν ἀ[φ'] Ἰπ-

Y 1-39 = Dicaearchus, fr. 46B Mirhady

I 42 [φιλοσοφίαν] suppl. Tsouna

Y 1 συνα[γαγῶ]ν suppl. Kalligas: συνά[γω]ν Lasserre

people believe that, by being compulsively attached to him, they procure a sufficient excuse of their own ignorance, or rather ... that they alone, having an understanding of [the philosophy] of the [noble] and wisest [teacher] ...

Y

... having compiled (the sources) I wrote it up. 'It had been recognised, however', he says, 'that, during that time, the mathematical sciences were also greatly advanced, because Plato was supervising (them) and posing problems that the mathematicians investigated with zeal. In this way, accordingly, this was the first time that issues related to the theory of ratios reached [the peak of their development], and the same holds for the problems related [to definition], since Eudoxus and his followers

Col. Y 1–17

Plato's Academy played an important role in the development and systematisation of the mathematical sciences; cf. Proclus, *Euc.* 66.8–14: 'Plato greatly advanced mathematics in general and geometry in particular because of his zeal for these studies. It is well-known that his studies are thickly sprinkled with mathematical terms and that he everywhere tries to arouse admiration for mathematics among students of philosophy.'¹

Simeoni 2003 examines the sense of ἀρχιτεκτονούντος ('supervising') here, and concludes that there is reference to a hierarchically superior role for philosophy (dialectic) over the exact sciences. For some indication of the sorts of problems Plato was posing for the mathematicians to resolve, we may turn to Eudemus, fr. 148 Wehrli, *ap. Simpl. in Cael.* 488.12–24: 'Eudoxus ... reached such hypotheses after Plato posed this problem to the experts on these matters, namely what regular and ordered motions need to be hypothesised in order to save the phenomena regarding the movements of the planets.'² On the problems of *Quellenforschung* here (whether the ultimate source is Dicaearchus or Eudemus or Philip of Opus or Hermodorus of Syracuse) see Simeoni 2003: 122–3; Zhmud 1998: 219–23; Dorandi 1991a: 207–8.

¹ Transl. Morrow. Πλάτων δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις γενόμενος μεγίστην ἐποίησεν ἐπίδοσιν τὰ τε ἄλλα μαθήματα καὶ τὴν γεωμετρίαν λαβεῖν διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτὰ σπουδὴν, ὅς που δῆλός ἐστι καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς λόγοις καταπικνώσας καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸ περὶ αὐτὰ θαῦμα τῶν φιλοσοφίας ἀντεχομένων ἐπεγεῖρων.

² καὶ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων Εὐδοξὸς ὁ Κνίδιος, ὡς Εὐδημὸς τε ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς Ἀστρολογικῆς ἱστορίας ἀπεμνημόνευσε καὶ Σωσιγένης παρὰ Εὐδήμου τοῦτο λαβὼν, ἄψασθαί λέγεται τῶν τοιούτων ὑποθέσεων Πλάτωνος, ὡς φησι Σωσιγένης, πρόβλημα τοῦτο ποιησαμένου τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπουδακόσι, τίνων ὑποθετῆσάν ὁμαλῶν καὶ τεταγμένων κινήσεων διασωθῇ τὰ περὶ τὰς κινήσεις τῶν πλανωμένων φαινόμενα.

- πο[κρά]τους ἀρχαῖσμόν. ἔλαβε [δὲ καὶ
 ἢ γε[ωμ]ετρία πολλήν ἐπίδοσιν· ἐγγε<ν>-
 νήθ[η] γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἀνάλυσις καὶ τὸ περὶ
 15 διορισμούς λῆμ[μα] καὶ ὄλω[ς] τὰ π[ε]ρὶ
 τ[ή]ν γεωμετρίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ π[ρ]ο[ή]ν[ε]γ-
 κ[ον] δ' ἔν τε [ὀπ]τ[ικ]ῇ<ι> καὶ μη[χ]ανικ[ῇ]
ι.μιστηναιτα.ο. .
 . . . γην τῶν το[ιού]τω[ν] [τὰ ὀ-
 20 ν]ήσιμα συχνοὶ [τῶν σπε]ρμολόγων
 αὐτῶν ἔνε[κα]ν σχεδὸν γὰρ
 ἦν φοιτητῶ[ν] γένος] ἄλλο καὶ τῶ[ν]
 γ]ε θερῶν τὸ ἰδ[ιωτικόν] ἀνέλαβον
 ο]ὐ μετα. γμαῖ
 25 .βην καὶι
 τοῦτον τ.ολ.βον
 . .πρ. . . .δι.αλλο
 . . . ἀνθρώπων[ν]ληθ.
 . . γ συνουσί[α]ν - - -
 30 α. . .με Δάων καὶομι
 τα. .νε. . . καὶ [πρ]ὸς τοῦτο
 ι. . . ἀπήρτησαν τῶν ἀναγ[καί]ων
 οισ.ρ περὶ τῶν [ὄν]ησίμων . .ο. . .ικαι
 35 ωσε. . αι δοκοῦσιν οἰκότριβες [- - -
 φικ. .υνομενος ὁ Πλάτων πολλ[ή] - - -
 θαῖ πε καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων τοι. . . .ιοι.
 - - -
 39 γου. . γ ἀνδρὸς [- - -

Y 16-17 π[ρ]ο[ή]ν[ε]γ[κ]ον suppl. Gaiser

17 δ' ἔν τε [ὀπ]τ[ικ]ῇ<ι> καὶ μη[χ]ανικ[ῇ] Arnim, Mekler, Lasserre: [οὐ]δέν τε [ὀπ]τ[ικ]ῇ καὶ
 μη[χ]ανικ[ῇ] Dorandi

19-20 [τὰ ὀ]νήσιμα suppl. Mekler: . . . ησιμα Dorandi

21 αὐτῶν Mekler: αὐτῶν Dorandi

22 [γένος] suppl. Schenkl, Gaiser

23 ἰδ[ιωτικόν] suppl. Schenkl, Gaiser

introduced changes to the old-fashioned approach [of Hippocrates]. Geometry [too] made great progress. For there were produced both the method of analysis and the examination of the limits (of a problem) and geometry in general was much [advanced]; furthermore, in [optics] and mechanics ... [of such a kind] ... many [gleaners] gathered for their own sake [the profitable] ... for there was almost another [kind] of students ... and indeed, they took over from the harvest the part that suited them ... him ... of people ... conversation ... Daon and ... and in addition to this ... completed the necessary (aspects of their education) ... concerning what is profitable ... they give the impression of people at home (in philosophy) ... Plato ... and of those absent ... of man ...

In addition to Eudoxus of Cnidus, one of the most important ancient mathematicians and astronomers (fragments collected in Lasserre 1966), col. Y contains a possible reference to Hippocrates of Chios, from the generation prior to Plato and Eudoxus, who tackled many of the same problems that occupied his successors.³

Col. Y 18–39

Much of this part of the column is illegible, and making sense of the isolated words and short phrases becomes problematic. Dorandi 1991a: 208 speaks of two circles of students, one of 'insiders' undertaking the highest theoretical studies and one of 'outsiders' more interested in practical, profitable matters such as rhetoric and politics. The latter would be the ones designated by the term *σπερμολόγοι* (which he interprets as 'usufruttari', 'gleaners').

³ E.g. the squaring of the circle and the duplication of the cube; cf. Proclus, *in Euc.* 66.4–6; 213.3–11; *Simpl. in Ph.* 60.22–68.32 and Simeoni 2003: 120 with n. 17.

II

- δε. ἄλλοις
 ατ. [φι]λανθ[ρ]ω-
 πίαν [- - -
 το. ἴσα». τοιαῦτα γεγρα-
 5 φότο[ς Δ]ικαιάρχου, Φιλόχ[ο-
 ρος ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθθ[ι]δ[ος] ἔ-
 κτωι παρέ[ι]παι[σ]εν ἐπὶ το
 - - -
 π[α]ραξύων [- - -
 10 λαμ]βάνων [- - -
 . . . ε[ι]δῶς [- - -
 τον ἐ[ν] τῷ πέ[μπτ]-
 τῳ «καὶ ἀνέθξσαν εἰκ[όνα
 C[ω]κράτους, τ[ὸ δ' ὑ]πόβ[α-
 15 θρο]ν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπ[ιγ]έ[γρ]απται
 “Β]ούτης ἐπόησε[ν] . . κω
 . . . υς”· ἐπιγέ[γρ]α[πτ]αι
 ὀνόμα]τα συχνὰ . . . αι
 - - -
 26 αι ἀνέθε-
 σα[ν] α [εἰ]κόνα προ
 σ. . . τ.ν χαλκοῦν . . . [ἐ]πιγέ-
 γραπ[τ]αι το[ῦτο] .ν . . . ἀναθή-
 30 κην [- - -
 33 .ωιπαι τὸ μ[ο]υσεῖον, ἀλ-
 λ]ὰ Κολλυτεὺς ἦν τῶν δῆ-
 35 μ]ων. «τετελευτηκέναι δ' ἐ-
 π[ι]ὶ Θεοφίλου φησὶν αὐτὸν
 βι]ώσαντ' ἔτη δύο καὶ ὀγδο[ή]-
 κοντα.

II

... to others ... philanthropy ... equal.' While Dicaearchus has written such things, Philochorus in the sixth book of the *History of Attica* [made a jest] ... touching the edge [of vulgarity] ... Knowing that ... in the [fifth book] (he writes): 'And they dedicated a statue of Socrates and [its base], on which (the phrase) is inscribed "Boutes made (it) ... "; many names are inscribed ... they dedicated ... a statue ... of bronze ... this has been inscribed ... an offering ... the museum, [but] (Plato) was of the deme of Collytus.' He says that he (*sc.* Plato) died in the archonship of Theophilus, having lived eighty-two years.

Col. II

The reference in l. 5 is the best evidence we have for Dicaearchus as the source of what precedes. His report is contrasted with a joke by Philochorus, of unclear nature due to the state of the text.⁴

Lines 13–30 contain two references to (an) inscribed statue(s) or image(s) (εἰκ[όνα], l. 13; [εἰ]κόνα, l. 27). It is not clear whether we have two reports on the same artefact or on two separate artefacts. Speyer 2001 agrees with Dorandi in reading C[ω]κράτους rather than Ἰσ[ο]κράτους, but reads the sculptor's name as [Σ]ώτης instead of [Β]ούτης; there is no otherwise known painter for either name. Speyer believes that Philodemus is quoting two different sources on the same bronze bust of Socrates, but cf. also Voutiras 1994.

Lines 35–7: all sources appear to agree that Plato died in the first year of the 108th Olympiad (348/7 BC), but according to Hermippus he was eighty-one years old, and according to Neanthes, eighty-four (D.L. 3.2).

⁴ Speyer 2001: 84–5 offers the following text and translation: παρ[ε]ἰπαί[σε]ν ἐπιγ[ε]λῶ[ν] 'τ' αὐτ' ἀνα[κ]τᾶται ὥσ[τ] ἐρ[ε] π[ι]αραξύων τ[ᾶ] π[ι]άντα μη[δ]έ | [λαμ]βάνων [ὁ] π[ι]λάτ[ων], '... joked laughingly: "He, Plato, obtains that all more or less in passing, and does not take it ..."'.

V

- καὶ φιλοσόφων ἄ[στ]ρα γε πρὸς Ἑρμ[ι]αν
 περιπλάνηται, μεταπεμψα{ι}μένου
 μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρότερον τοῦ Ἑρ-
 μί[ο]υ εὐ[ν]ούστ[α]τ[α], τότε δὲ καὶ μάλ-
 5 λόν τ[ι] διὰ τὴν Πλάτωνος τελε[υ]-
 τὴν ἐ[πι]σπεύσαντος. παραγενομ[έ]-
 νοις δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα
 ἐπ[ό]ησε κοιν[ά] κ[αὶ] πόλιν ἔδωκεν
 οἰκ[εῖ]ν τὴν Ἀσ[ό]ν, ἐν ᾗ ἐκείνοι τε
 10 δια[τρίβ]οντες ἐφιλοσόφουν εἰς
 ἓνα [περί]πατον συνιόντες καὶ [πάν]-
 τα [τὰ δέο]νθ' Ἑρμίας δῆ[που] παρετ[ε]-
 θή[κει]. ὑπὸ φιλοσοφ[ί]α[ς] δὲ μεταλ-
 λαγῆ[ναι] ἐ[ν]νόμιζ[ον] πρὸς τὴν
 15 τοῦ . . . τιμο. . . . μοναρχ[ί]-
 αν [- - -
 19 - - -]τὸ Πλά-
 20 τωνος] ῥ[ῆ]μα, ἵνα γῆ μί[α] παντὸς [αἰῶ]-
 νος αὐτοῦς [δ'] ἀν[αδέξηται
 - - -»

V1 ἄ[στ]ρα suppl. Gaiser

2 [περιπλάνηται suppl. Tsouna

9 τὴν e corr. supra lineam P: [τ]ὸν ante

21 ἀν[αδέξηται] suppl. Tsouna

V

Furthermore], the stellar philosophers [wandered] towards Hermias. Hermias had invited [them] also earlier with the greatest benevolence, but then urged them even more because of Plato's demise. As soon as they arrived, he both offered them all the other things to hold in common and gave (them) a city to inhabit, Assos, in which those people practised philosophy by living gathered together in a single community, while Hermias indeed [provided everything they needed]. And [they] believed that it was possible under the guidance of philosophy to change ... towards ... the monarchy of ... the saying of [Plato], so that a single land would [forever receive] them ...

Col. V 1–21

According to the *Sixth Letter*, Hermias, the tyrant of Assus and Atarneus, never met Plato in person (323a). He was nevertheless associated with the Academy and its pupils, and his generous treatment of members such as Erastus, Coriscus and Aristotle is also found in Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes' *Philippics*, also preserved on papyrus (see esp. col. 5.53–66 with Harding 2006: 137–43). The 'gift' of Assus and the effect of philosophy on the manner of Hermias' rule are paralleled in Didymus ('he gave them [some territory] as a gift ... the tyranny he changed [...] a gentler rule', 5.56–9), who may have used a similar source to Philodemus' (Hermippus? Philochorus?). Cf. also D.L. 5.9 and Dorandi 1991a: 31–3.

X

- 2 - - - ὡς ἄλλοι συν[ῆγο]ν, ἐ[πι-
τρέχω τὰ γεγραμμένα [πε]ρὶ Π[λά-
τωνος [ἄ]π[ρα]νθ', ὑπογρά[ψ]ας ἔχον-
5 θ' οὐτ[ω· Π]λάτων Ὡκράτους γεγο-
ν[ὼς μαθ]ητῆς ἀπο[λ]ειφθε[ί]ς γεώ[τερος,
ἄ[τ' ὦν] ἐτῶν [εἰ]κοσιεπτὰ, ἀπῆρ[εν] εἰς [Ci-
κελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν, εἰς τοὺς Πυθα-
γ[ορ]ήους, οἷς συγγενόμενός τινα
10 χρόνον συνέμειξ[εν Διο]νυσί-
ωι τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ [λεγομέ]νῳ·
καὶ τ[ο]ύτου σκαιότερ[ον] αὐτοῦ τὴν
παρρησία[ν] ἐνέγκα[ντ]ος, ὅτι ἔρω-
τηθεὶς τίς αὐτῷ[ι δο]κ[εῖ] φα[ν]ῆναι
15 εὐδαιμονέστερος, οὐ[κ] εἶπεν αὐτ[όν],
ὡς [ἄρα] τινὲς [ἔ]φ[ησα]ν δυσχεραί-
ν[ων] .ι.ε.α.εν.ω.ι.χ. . . [π]αραδοθεὶς τ[ι]-
σιν[ι] ἐμ[π]όροις ἀπ[ὸ Λα]κεδαίμονος[ς
ἀποπλεύσασιν ἐς] Ἀθή[να]ς .το. . ἐ-
20 κείνο κη. . .εν Αἰγίνῃ [δ]οῦ-
λος ἦν, ἄτ' ὦν ἐν Αἰγ[ί]ν[η]ι . . .η.κ. .
- - -] [τοῦ Πε-
λ[οπο]ν[νη]σιακ[ο]ῦ πολέμ[ο]υ α.
γ. ἀπελύθη ἰλ. . .
25 - - -
. .ω.σα. . .ασ. Δίω[ν] - - -
28 Διον[υσί]ου τοῦ νεωτ[έ]ρου - - -
- - - σ]υνῆγ [- - -
32 . . .] Πλάτ[ω]ν [- - -
.οτς τοῦτ' [ὀ]νομα[. . .
- - -

X¹⁹ [ἀποπλεύσασιν ἐς] suppl. Tsouna

28 [Διον]υσί[ου τοῦ] νεωτ[έ]ρου suppl. Tsouna

X

... Since others have collected (them), I shall run through a quick review of [everything] that has been written about Plato, having sketched the following outline. Plato, who had been a disciple of Socrates and had lost (him) [relatively young when he was] twenty-seven years old, sailed away to Sicily and Italy to the Pythagoreans and, after he associated with them for some time, he joined Dionysius [known as] the Elder. And because the latter bore his (*sc.* Plato's) frank speech rather ill, for when he (*sc.* Plato) was asked who, in his opinion, [seemed] happier (than all others), he did not declare that he (*sc.* Dionysius) was, as [perhaps some did], feeling uneasy ... having been handed to [some] merchants who [had sailed] from Sparta [to] Athens ... [that] ... in Aegina he became a slave so that, while he was in Aegina ... of the [Peloponnesian] War ... he was set free ... Dio ... [of Dionysius the Younger] ... [Plato] ... this name ... again back home. And after he

Col. X 1–16

The opening of this column would appear to be an introduction to the biography of Plato, or at any rate a renewed start following the reference to his death and the ensuing migration of some of his pupils to Assus. In fact, some scholars have placed this column at the beginning of the work (see Dorandi 1991a: 215). As Dorandi points out, however, what we actually get is a narrative of Plato's Sicilian adventures, not the start of a biography, despite the first-person promise to 'run through a quick review of [everything] that has been written about Plato' – we would need to take this as a reference to the literature pertaining to the Sicilian voyages (cf. Dorandi 1991a: 33).

The information that Plato left for Italy and Sicily at the age of twenty-seven, right after the death of Socrates, contradicts D.L. 3.6, where we learn (through Hermodorus) that he first spent time at Megara with Euclides and in Cyrene with Theodorus. It also contradicts the *Seventh Letter*, where it is stated (324a) that Plato was about forty when he first went to Sicily. Perhaps Philodemus or his source has conflated an earlier visit to the Pythagoreans in Italy as part of a wider tour that included Cyrene and Egypt (D.L. 3.6), with a later trip to Sicily (mentioned separately in D.L. 3.18).

Plato's quarrel with Dionysius the Elder appears also in D.L. 3.18–19 and Plut. *Dio* 5, but in these two authors Dionysius is enraged by Plato's philosophical views on the pre-eminence of virtue over the interests of the powerful and on tyrants' failure in manliness and justice. In Philodemus the story appears more like a version of the Solon and Croesus motif, where the wise man refuses to declare that his interlocutor is the happiest person: Plato would of course say that lack of (supreme) happiness is a result of the lack of virtue, so the two versions are compatible, but any reference to virtue is omitted by Philodemus.

Col. X 18–24

This is the first reference to the story of Plato's sale as a slave (see below on col. II 43–III 34).

- 35ν πάλιν οἴκαδε καί τιν[α
 χρόνον]ν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ [σ]υνήθεσιν [ό-
 μιλήσας], ὑπὸ Δίων[ο]ς παρακληθεῖς
 ἦλθε πρὸς Διονύσιον· καὶ κεῖ δια-
 βληθεῖς, ὥς συνεργ[οῖ] θέλων
 40 Δίῳνι τ[ὸ]ν τύραν[νο]ν ἀν[αι]ροῦντι,
 καὶ ἀπώλετο, μόνον δ]ὲ δι[ὰ το]ῦ θε[οῦ]
 καὶ οὐ δι[ὰ το]ῦ ἀδυνα[τ]ῆς [αι τοῦτο]ν
 ἀσεβ[ῶς] [- - -

Z

- τω. . . .μοιντο, διαγω[γ]ήν
 τιν' ἐπὶ ἀ[π]οδημ[ε]ίαν αὐτ[οῦ]. εἴ-
 θ' ὁ μὲν [ἐρ]ωτῆσαι λέγετ[αι εἰ αὐ-
 τήν [Πλ]άτων τόνδε [ἄνδρα
 5 αὐτόν [οὔ]ν ἐφ' ὃ πάρεστιν [ἀνα-
 γεγρα[φέναι ὃ]μολογίαν διαλε. . . .
 λουμ.εν τὸν λόγον.
 - - -
 - - -] [θεω-

Z 3-4 [εἰ αὐ]τήν [Πλ]άτων suppl. Tsouna

4 [ἄνδρα] suppl. Tsouna

5 [οὔ]ν suppl. Tsouna

5 πάρεστιν Tsouna: πάρεστι ν Dorandi

5-6 [ἀνα]γεγρα[φέναι] suppl. Tsouna

spent [some time] with his own companions, at the request of Dio he came to Dionysius. But there, having been falsely accused of being willing to collaborate with Dio, who intended to assassinate the tyrant, he was even in danger of being killed, and it was only through the help of god and not because [he] (*sc.* Dionysius) had not been capable of impiously (killing him) ...

Z

... a certain behaviour at his departure. Besides, it is said that the one asked [if Plato] ... this [man] himself [then], at the point at which he came forward (to speak), [has registered] an agreement ... the speech ...

Col. X 25–Col. Z 22

This passage contains the narrative of Plato's subsequent trips to Sicily and the dangers he faced amid the deteriorating relations between Dio and Dionysius the Younger. 'Again back home' in X 35 must be a reference to his return from his second visit, which lasted from 367 to 365 BC. The text of col. Z is very doubtful, but the reference to Dio (l. 12) suggests that it is part of the same narrative, and 'in support of [oligarchy]' may be a reference to Dio's plans for regime change (cf. Plut. *Dio* 12.3; 23.2).

- 10 ροῦντι παραβαλ[- - -
 .ν τῆς πανηγύρε[ως - - -
 πρὸς Δίωνα καὶ τοῦ[ς φίλους
 ἔ]ντευ{σι}ξιν [πα]ράβο[λον
 . . .] ὑπὲρ [τῆς ὀλ]ιγαρχίας
- 15 - - -
- 17 - - -] ἄλλωι . . .
 - - -
- [ἄ]λλοτρ[ί]οις
- 20 . . . [πε]ρὶ σοφίαν [- - -
 π. . . [ἀλ]λὰ καὶ . . ο.
 γεν. [τ]ῆς ἀκρα[- - -

II

- - -
- Νεάνθης δὲ Φιλ[ί]σ-
 κου φησὶν ἀκηκοέναι τ[οῦ
 40 Α[ἰ]γινήτου, διότι «Πλάτ[ων
 ὕ]πὸ τῶν προσηκόντ[ω]ν
 ἐκ]λήθη διὰ μετῴπο[υ] π[λά]-
 τος», καὶ διότι «Σπ[α]ρτιατῶν
 πλ[ω]{ι}τή[ρω]ν τινῶν ἀφικο-

seeing that ... of the games ... (Plato came across) Dio and his friends (who were holding) [a reckless meeting] ... in support of [oligarchy] ... to another ... enemies ... concerning wisdom ... but also ...

II

But Neanthes says that he had heard Philiscus of Aegina say that he (*sc.* Plato) was called Plato by his parents because of [the width] of his forehead, and also that when certain Spartan [sailors] arrived

Col. II 39–42

The historian Neanthes of Cyzicus (fourth/third century BC) is also cited in D.L. 3.4 for the same aetiology for Plato's name. Here he is the indirect source for information going back to the rhetorician Philiscus of Miletus, who, according to the *Suda* (v 114; φ 360), had been a pupil of Isocrates and was Neanthes' teacher.

Col. II 43–III 23

The story of Plato's sale into slavery must also come from Philiscus via Neanthes, because it is very closely linked to what precedes. At *X* 18–24 we learnt that this may have been done at the bidding of Dionysius the Elder, who handed Plato over to Spartan merchants. From D.L. 3.19–20 and Plut. *Dio* 5.2–3 we also learn that a Spartan ambassador named Pollis was involved in the affair.⁵ Athens was at war with Aegina at the time ('the [Peloponnesian] War' at *X* 23 must be a reference to the Corinthian War of 395–387 BC; see Dorandi 1991a: 131), and according to Plut. *Dio* 5.3, any Athenian found on Aegina was to be sold into slavery.

⁵ The text is doubtful at *X* 18–21; Dorandi 1991a: 36–7 believes that Dionysius the Elder should be exonerated on this and that Pollis was a fictional figure.

III

- μένων καὶ πωλοῦντ[ων
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐπράθη ὁ
 Πλάτων ἄδηλος ὢν ὅ[στις
 5 ἐστὶν ἀνδρὶ λῖαν πέν[ητι
 ἀπιό]ντων δὲ τῶν Λα-
 κώνων ὅτ[ωι] συνεάλω
 σπευδόντων λαβεῖν ἐν
 νῶι θέμ[εν]ος [κρύπ]τεται
 καὶ τι δὴ [Μα]κεδονί[αι μὲ]ν δε-
 10 δι[ε]ώς τό[τε] πρὸς Ἀρχέλα-
 ον, ἐμήν[υ]σε δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἐ-
 ωνημένον ἑαυτὸν καὶ
 σῶσαντ[([α])]ι χάριν ἀποτείσειν
 ὑπισχνεῖτ[ο π]ολλήν, οὗ τι μὲν
 15 ἐκπλαγέντα . . . απ[- - -
 θε[ν]τος καὶ μα[θόν]τα λ. . . .
 τὸ πλάτος μ[ετώπου] - - -
 23 Πλάτων [- - -
 35 λε. . Φίλιππος ὁ φ]ι[λό]-
 σ[οφος ἀσ]τρολόγος [τ' ἐ]ξηγεῖ-
 τ' αὐτῶι γερονῶς ἀναγρα-
 φεὺς τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ ἀ-
 κουστής, ὅτι «γεγηρακῶς
 40 ἤδη Πλάτων ξέν[ον] ὑπε-
 δέξ[ατ]ο Χαλδα[ῖο]ν ε.
τινας ἐπύρεξε[ν. ἐκεῖ-

III 5 [ἀπιό]ντων suppl. Tsouna

6 ὅτ[ωι] suppl. Sedley

8 [κρύπ]τεται Sedley

9 [Μα]κεδονί[αι μὲ]ν suppl. Tsouna

16–17 θε[ν]τος καὶ μα[θόν]τα λ. . . . τὸ πλάτος μ[ετώπου] suppl. Puglia

42 τινας supra lineam scr. P

III

and were putting the Athenians up for sale, Plato, without being known for [who] he was, was sold to a very [poor] man. However, bearing in mind that when the Spartans [left] they would hasten to take along with them [whomever] they were holding captive, he [hid himself] in some fear (of being taken to) [Macedonia] to Archelaus. On the other hand, he revealed his identity to the man who had bought him and promised to give him a big reward if he freed him. He (*sc.* the buyer) was not at all surprised ... as he also recognised ... the width of his forehead ... Plato ... [Philip the philosopher] and astronomer, who was Plato's recorder and disciple, relates to him that, Plato, who was already old, received as a guest a man from Chaldaea ... (Plato) had fever.

As far as we can make out, Plato was initially sold without being recognised,⁶ but was concerned about the behaviour of the Spartans (perhaps their eagerness to identify their captives?) and chose to reveal himself privately to his 'owner' only.⁷

Puglia 2006: 182 and 185 offers some new readings for lines III 16–17 (very lacunose in Dorandi): θε[ν]τος καὶ μ[ε]θ[ε]ν[τ]α λ... . . | τὸ πλάτος μ[ε]τώπου, '... and he recognised the width of his forehead', indicating that Plato's purchaser/rescuer recognised his wide forehead when Plato revealed his identity, thus providing a substantive link between this narrative and the reference at II 40–3.⁸

According to later sources reflected in D.L. 3.20, Plato's saviour was Anniceris of Cyrene, the Cyrenaic philosopher. An early version of the story may also lie behind Aristotle, *Ph.* 199b 20: 'as when we say that the guest friend came by chance and left after he freed him'. Philoponus comments on this line that an (unnamed) friend of Plato's was on his way to participate in the Olympic Games when he unexpectedly found Plato on Aegina, and then bought and released him (*in Ph.* 324.17–23⁹).

⁶ Puglia 2006: 182 explains that we need not take it that he was sold to a poor man, reading πορ[ι]μω instead of πέν[η]τι.

⁷ Puglia 2006: 184 also favours the reading [μα]κεδονί[ζει]ν δε[δι]ε[ώ]ως τό[τε] πρὸς Ἀρχέλα[ον], 'speaking Macedonian (as opposed to Greek) to Archelaus', which he interprets as an almost proverbial phrase indicating the sort of appeasing and weak behaviour that Plato did not want to adopt towards his Spartan captors.

⁸ See also Luppe 2008 on the same passage.

⁹ 'For [a certain man] going off to compete at the Olympic games found Plato bound in Aegina, and bought and released him, saying that he would not exchange many victories at Olympia for this action' (transl. Lacey).

V

- ν[ο]ς δ' ὑπὸ Θράιττης ἐγγε[νὲς
 μέλος ἦρ<μ>οττε δάκτυλον
 ἐνδιδοῦ[ς] ῥυθμόν. αὐτόθι
 δ' ὡς πα[ρ]αφρονο[ῦ]ντα φωνεῖν
 5 τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ ἐπερωτῇ-
 σαι, τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος· “ἐννο-
 εῖς ὡς πάντῃ τὸ βάρβαρον
 ἄμα[θ]ές· ἅτε γε παρὰρυθμον
 οὔ[ς] γ]ῆ βάρβαρος φέρουσα
 10 τ[ὰς] χρ]εῖας [πως] ἀδυνατεῖ μα-
 θεῖν”, ἤσθηται μεγάλως καὶ
 ἐν ε[ὐ]δαίαι μεγάλῃ τὸν ἄν-
 δρα [εὐ]φημεῖν ἐπ[εῖ] κ]αὶ ταῦ-
 τ' ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦρχετ' [α]ὐτῶι καὶ
 15 π]ροάγει. διαθερμανθέν-
 τος δὲ [μ]ᾶλλον ἔκ τ[ι]νος ἐ-
 γέρσεως νύκτωρ ἀ[κ]αιρ[ό]-
 τερον [γε]νομένης] εἴπει. . .
 - - -
 32 . .] . .ε Πλάτωνος μ[αθη]-
 τα]ὶ ἦσ[α]ν . . [- - -

V 1 ἐγγε[νὲς] Puglia: ἔγ γε Dorandi

2 δάκτυλον P e corr. supra lineam: δακτύλωι ante

4 πα[ρ]αφρονο[ῦ]ντα Puglia: πα[ρ]αφρονο[ί]η τε Dorandi

10 τ[ὰς] χρ]εῖας [πως] suppl. Tsouna

13 [εὐ]φημεῖν Gaiser: . .ομυτειν Dorandi

V

However, that man (*sc.* the Chaldean), with the assistance of a Thracian servant, was adapting a melody from his own country, using dactylic rhythm. Immediately, Plato cried that he (*sc.* the Chaldean) was out of his mind and asked him (why he was doing this), and he (*sc.* the Chaldean) answered: 'You realise that barbarous peoples are entirely ignorant by seeing that "because the barbarous population has a non-rhythmical ear it somehow cannot learn [what is required]."' He (*sc.* Plato) was greatly pleased and, in a very good mood, praised the man both because these thoughts were coming to his mind and because he was able to express them. But because he got up one night at a time rather unsuitable (to his condition) and his temperature was raised ... The students of Plato were ...

Col. III 35–V 17

Philodemus' source here is probably still Neanthes, this time quoting Philip of Opus. The characterisation 'Plato's recorder' (ἀναγραφεύς, III 37–8) is supported by the remark at D.L. 3.37 that Philip transcribed Plato's final work, the *Laws*, which was left unedited at Plato's death.¹⁰

Here Philip is the source for an encounter between Plato and a Chaldean guest, which took place when Plato was old and suffering from fever, from which he eventually died.¹¹ Puglia's interpretation of this difficult passage is that the Chaldean attempted to calm and heal Plato with a song from his own country (he reads ἐγγε[νὲς] ἰμέλος at V 1–2), with the help of the Thracian singer (Puglia 2005: 124). Plato was initially annoyed by the inept singing (Puglia's reading: ὥς πα[ρ]αφρονο[ῦ]ντα φωνεῖν, 2005: 125), but the Chaldean put him back in a good mood with a self-deprecating joke.

Plato's death (in 348/7 BC) need not have occurred that same night; in fact, καὶ ἡ [π]ροάγει could refer to Neanthes and the continuation of his narrative (Puglia 2005: 126). According to Hermippus (D.L. 3.2), Plato died during a wedding banquet.

¹⁰ See also Tarrant (in this volume, pp. 209–12) for arguments in favour of a special role within the Academy as 'keeper of Plato's books', which could have involved editorial activity.

¹¹ The story is of interest in the context of relations between Greek philosophers and non-Greeks notable for their scientific achievements, like the Chaldaeans. Perhaps this is why Diogenes Laertius ignores the episode, in the light of his emphasis on the exclusively Greek origins of philosophy; cf. Gigante 1986: 30.

VI

- δόνιος, Ἡρακλείδης Ἀμύντας
 Ἡρακλεῶται, Μενέδημος Πυρ-
 ραῖος, Ἔστιαιος Περίνθιος, Ἄρισ-
 τ[ο]τέλης Σταγίριτης, Χαίρων Πελληνεύς, Δίων Κυ-
 5 ρακόσιος ὁ τὴν Διονυσίου
 τυραννίδα καθελὼν, Ἐρ-
 μ[ό]δωρος Κυρακόσιος ὁ καὶ πε-
 ρὶ α[ὐ]τοῦ γράψας καὶ τοὺς λό-
 γους εἰς Κικελίαν [μετ]αφέ-
 10 ρ[ω]ν, Ἔραστος καὶ . . ω. Ἀσ[κλ]ηπι-
 άδης [οἱ ἀπ]ορνημον[εὺ]<μα>τα
 γράψα[ντ]ες αὐτοῦ,
 12a ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Τιμόλαος, Καλλιγένης,
 Ἀθηναῖος Τιμόλα<ο>ς, οὓς
 ἐν τῷ Περιδείπνῳ
 Πλά[τ]ω[νος] <ίστορεῖ Cπεύ[σιππος]>, Ἀρχύτας
 13 Ταραν[τῖ]νος, Χίων ὁ{υ} τὸν
 ἐν Ἡ[ρ]α[κ]λείαι τύραννον
 15 ἀνελῶ[ν], Πύθων καὶ Ἡρα[κ]-
 λί[δης] ὁ[ι] Κότυν ἀποκτεί-
 ναντε[ς κ]αὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπ' [Ἀ-
 θη]ναί[ων] πολιτογραφη[θέν]-
 τε[ς, εἴ]τα δὲ χρυσῶι στ[ε]φά-
 20 νωι τιμηθέντες], Αἴνιοι». φέ-
 ρ[ει] δ[έ] ε
 - - -
 26 τευς [γυ]ναῖκες [συνεσ]χό-
 λασαν]ν ἐ[ν] ἀνδρεῖαι [ἐσθῆ]τι.
 - - -

VI 4 Σταγίριτης e corr. supra lineam P: Σταρίτης ante

4 Χαίρων Πελληνεύς supra lineam additum in P

10 . . ω. supra lineam habet P

12a Τιμόλα<ο>ς e PHerc. 164 correctum

12a [ὁ Κυζικη]νός usque [Πλά]τω[νος] supra lineam additum habet P

12a < > e PHerc. 164 huc inseruimus

26 τευς supra lineam habet P

VI

... Heraclides and Amyntas of Heracleia, Menedemus of Pyrrha, Hestiaeus of Perinthus, Aristotle of Stagira, Chaeron of Pellene, Dio of Syracuse, who brought down the tyranny of Dionysius, Hermodorus of Syracuse, who both wrote about him (*sc.* Plato) and [transported] his dialogues to Sicily, Erastus and Asclepiades, who wrote memoirs of him, Timolaus of Cyzicus, Calligenes, and Timolaus of Athens, whom Speusippus records in *Plato's Funeral Banquet*, Archytas of Tarentum, Chion who eliminated the tyrant of Heracleia, Python and [Heraclides] of Aenus, who assassinated Cotys and for that reason were admitted to citizenship by the Athenians and [then] were honoured with a golden wreath. Besides, he reports that ... women studied together with them in the school dressed in men's [clothing].

Col. V 32–VI 20

List of Plato's pupils; cf. D.L. 3.46.

On Heraclides, see below on IX 1–X 11; Amyntas of Heraclea has been tentatively identified with the mathematician Amyclas of Heraclea, mentioned by Proclus (*in Euc.* 67.8) as an associate of Plato's (D.L. has Amyclus); Menedemus was a candidate to succeed Speusippus (see below, on VI 41–VII 18); Hestiaeus of Perinthus is mentioned in Aetius in very brief reports on his views on time and optics (318.15; 403.19 Diels); on Chaeron, whose name was inserted here as a correction, see below on XI 1–XII 41; on Hermodorus, see Dillon 2003: 198–204; Erastus, along with Coriscus, benefitted from Hermias' patronage (see above on V 1–21 and [Plato], *Sixth Letter*). Following some more obscure characters in lines 11–12, we have a reference to Archytas of Tarentum and three little known tyrannicides.¹²

¹² See Gaiser 1988: 448; the assassination of the Thracian tyrant Cotys is attributed to Pyrrho rather than Python by Diocles at D.L. 9.66.

T

- γράφει δ' ὑπ[έρ] αὐτοῦ ταῦτα
 Διόδωρος, ὃς [ίσ]τορῶν κατὰ
 Θεόφραστον γέγονεν ἀ-
 πὸ Cπευσίππου· «φύσιν δὲ
 5 καὶ φιλοπονίαν ἀξ{α}ίαν
 ἔσχε μνήμης· [ο]ὐ γὰρ μό-
 νον περὶ τ[ῶ]ν ἐνδεχο-
 μένων ἐπ[ρ]αγματεύθη{ι}
 10 κ}αὶ περὶ πάντων δ' ἱκα-
 νά τιν' εἶρη[κ]εν, ὥστε δο-
 κεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὴν διατρι-
 βή]ν ἐποιήσατ[ο ε]ἰς τὸ μου-
 σεῖον π]έραν [- - - ».

VI

- - -
 «Cπε[ύσιππος] μὲν οὖν πα[ρ'] αὐτοῦ [Πλ]άτων-
 ος νο]σῶν διεδέ[ξ]ατο τὴν δι[α]-
 30 τριβή]ν. [Cπεύ]σιππ[ο]ν [δὲ
 Χάριτας αὐ]τοῦ [τότ' ἀνα-
 θεῖναι φησ]ι Φιλ[όχορος ἤδη
 κατ]έχοντα τὸ μουσεῖ[ον,
 ἐφ' α[ῖ]ς ἐ[πιγέ]γραπται·
 35 τὰ[σ]-
 δε θ[ε]αῖσι θεὰς Χάριτας Μ[ο]ύ-
 σαις [ἀ]νέ<θη>κεν Cπεύσιππ[ος]
 λο[γί]ων [εἰ]νεκα δῶρα τε-
 λῶν.
 38 διυπ. . . .μεν παραλυθέντα». καὶ γράφει διότι
 «κατ[έ]στρεψέν τ' ἔτη κατασ-

VI 34-8 = Speusippus, fr. 86 Tarán

VI 28-9 [Πλ]άτων[ος νο]σῶν supra lineam additum habet P
 38 διυπ. . . .μεν παραλυθέντα supra lineam additum habet P

T

It is Diodorus who writes these things about him (*sc.* Speusippus), who, although he composed his narrative at the time of Theophrastus, was a disciple of Speusippus. (According to Diodorus) then, he (*sc.* Speusippus) possessed a nature and industriousness worthy of notice. For not only did he treat every possible subject and said some [quite important things] about everything, so as to create the impression that, if he had not established his school [in the area of the museum beyond] ...

VI

Thus Speusippus, [although he was ill], took over from Plato himself the directorship of the school. And Philochorus [reports] that, when Speusippus had already obtained the directorship of the school, he [then erected there a statue of the Graces] on which the inscription is engraved: 'These [divine] goddesses, the Graces, Speusippus dedicated to the divine Muses as a gift for the sake of learned achievements.' ... paralysed. (Philochorus) also relates that he died after he had held the leadership of

Col. VI 21–40 (including Col. T)

It is possible that Speusippus was introduced in the mutilated lines VI 21–6: in any case, the two women who attended the Academy dressed in men's garments studied with both Plato and Speusippus. We find their names in the list of Plato's pupils at D.L. 3.46 (Lasthenea of Mantinea and Axiothea of Phlius), as well as in the *Life* of Speusippus at 4.2. On the two women, see Dorandi 1989.

Col. T is a self-contained testimony from Diodorus, an otherwise unknown pupil of Speusippus', on the latter's character and conduct in the Academy. From D.L. 4.2 we get the title *Memorabilia* (Ἀπομνημονεύματα) for his work.

At VI 28–30 we learn that Speusippus received the headship of the school directly from Plato before Plato died in 348/7 BC, although he was already ill. 'Paralysed' at VI 38 and '[went weak at the joints]' at VII 18 are probably references to the same illness.

- 40 χῶν ὀκτώ τὸν περίπατον.
οἱ δ[έ] νεανίσκοι ψηφ[ο]φορή-
σαντες ὅστις αὐτῶν ἡγή[σ]-
σεται[ι], Ξενοκράτη[ν] εἵλοντο
τὸν [Κα]λχηδόνιον, Ἀριστο-

VII

- τέλους μὲν ἀποδεδημη-
κότος εἰς Μακεδονίαν, Με-
γεδήμου δὲ τοῦ Πυρραίου
καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλε-
5 ῶτου παρ' ὀλίγας ψήφους ἡτ-
τηθέντων. [ό] μὲν οὖν [Ἡ]ρα-
κλείδης ἀπῆ[ρ]εν εἰς τὸν
Πόντον, ὁ δὲ [Μενέδημ]ος ἔ-
τερον περίπατον καὶ [δι]α-
10 τριβὴν κατε[σ]κευάσατο . [οἱ δ' ἐν
Ἀκαδημαίαι [λ]έγοντ[αι τ]ό[τε
προκρίνασθ[αι] Ξενοκρ[ά]την
ἀγασθέντε[ς] αὐτοῦ τ[ήν
σωφροσύνην. ὁ γὰρ Σπ[εύσιπ]-
15 πος [ἐν]εῖχε τ[ῶ]ν ἀ[ν]ε<ι>μένων[ω]ν
ἀκρατέστερ[ον θυμ]ὸν καὶ [δὴ
τῶν ἡδονῶ[ν ἦ]τ[των] γενόμε-
νος ἐλύθη τὰ ἄρθρ[α θ].
- - -
22 ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἦν Ἀν[τίπα]-
τρος <ὅς> το[ύ]ς μὲν ἄλλο[υ]ς τ[ό]τ'
αὐτῶν [ἀσπα]σάμε[νος . . . η
25 - - -
29 καὶ γὰρ[ρ]ς φασ[ι]ν το.
- - -
34 το[ῦ]τον Ἀντι-

the school for eight years. And the young members, having voted who would be their (next) leader, elected Xenocrates of Chalcedon,

VII

while Aristotle had gone abroad to Macedonia, and Menedemus of Pyrrha as well as Heraclides of Heracleia were defeated by a few votes. Thus, Heraclides departed to the Pontus but Menedemus set up another school or philosophical practice. [In fact, those who were present in] the Academy are said to have preferred Xenocrates [at that time], because they admired his temperance. For Speusippus had in him a more intemperate spirit than [loose-living people, and indeed, having been defeated] by pleasure, [he went weak at the joints] ... for here there was Antipater who, [having befriended then] the others of them ... and indeed ... they say ... him ... Antipater ... [received] the reply in a friendly manner. And

Col. VI 41–VII 18

Xenocrates' succession of Speusippus, dated to 339/8 BC, involved a vote, unlike Speusippus' receipt of the school from his uncle Plato.¹³ D.L. 4.3 states that he was especially invited by Speusippus to take over, which need not be contradictory, suggesting only that he was Speusippus' favoured candidate. Philodemus' source also gives the names of the other candidates (Menedemus and Heraclides) and their reactions to defeat, and also takes care to explain why Aristotle was not a candidate. According to our text, Xenocrates was favoured thanks to the contrast of his temperance (σωφροσύνην, VII 14) with Speusippus' supposedly intemperate behaviour – according to D.L. 4.1, Speusippus' defeat at the hands of pleasure (which he argued was not good, cf. Arist. *EN* 7.13.1153b1–7) led him to attend Cassander's wedding feast in Macedonia,¹⁴ whereas in our text it made him weak at the joints.¹⁵

¹³ For scholars' concerns about the possibility of a non-Athenian citizen becoming head of the Academy, see Dorandi 1991a: 43–4 with further references, and Whitehead 1981, esp. 225–34.

¹⁴ This cannot be right because the wedding took place in 316 BC, whereas Speusippus died in 339/8.

¹⁵ Dillon 2003: 31: 'Rumours of his bad temper and proneness to pleasure are plainly malicious, and the latter allegation at least probably has something to do with Speusippus' known doctrine on pleasure.'

- 35 πατρ. ιπ. . . .
 τε. .κ ἀσπα[σ]τ[ικ]ῶς ἐδ[έξατο
 τὴν ἀπόκ[ρισιν, καὶ] πυνθανο-
 μένου τί δοκεῖ τὰ διαγεγραμ-
 μένα, αὐτὸν ἀποκρίνασθαι
- 40 “μέτρια μὲν ὡς οἰκέταις
 πικρὰ δὲ ὡς ἐλευθέρους”. οὕ-
 τω δὲ λέγεται διακεῖσθαι
 τῇ εὐνοίαι τῇ πρὸς τὸν δῆ-
 μον ὁ Ξενοκράτης, ὡς οὕ-
 τε τὰ μουσεῖα θῦσαι τό[τε] κα-
- 45

VIII

- τὰ τὴν τῆς φρουρᾶς εἴσοδ[ον,
 ὕστερόν τε Δημάδους αὐ-
 τόν, ὅτε τὸ πολίτευμα συ-
 νέστησεν, Ἀθηναῖ[ον] εἶνα[ι
 5 γράψαντος, οὐ τολμῆ[σαι
 γραφῆναι, λέγονθ' ὡς [αἰσ-
 χρὸν εἶη] ταύτης τῆς πολ[ι-
 τείας κοινωνῆσαι, κα[θ' ἣ]ς
 ὅπως μὴ γένηται πρεσβ[ευ-
 10 τὴν αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐχειρο-
 τόνησε[ν]. ἔνιοι δ' ἀπραγ[γ]ότε-
 ρόν φασ[ιν] ἀναστραφ[ῆ]ναι
 τὸν Ξεν[ο]κράτην κατὰ τ[ὴν
 πρεσβεία[ν], ὥστε κα[ὶ] διὰ ψή-
 15 φους ποιεῖσθαι διαιρ[ε]τῆρα
 τῷ πλήθ[ει] τὸν Ἀν[τιπά-
 τρου σύμμαχον. Τίμ[αιος] δὲ
 τοῦτον ε. .λεγ.
 - - -
- 20 ἥττων αἰγασ[- - -
- 22 . . . γράφ[ου]σι δέ τι[νες]
 περὶ αὐτοῦ [δ]ιότι ὅ. . .
 - - -

when he was asked what he thought of the drafted decree, he answered that it is tolerable for house-slaves but bitter for free people. It is alleged that Xenocrates' benevolent disposition towards the people was such that he did not even sacrifice to the Muses at the time when

VIII

the (Macedonian) garrison entered the city. And later on, when Demades constituted his government and registered him as an Athenian citizen, he could not bear being registered, saying that it would be shameful to be part of the very government against the formation of which the people had elected him ambassador. However, some people claim that Xenocrates returned from the embassy rather unsuccessful, with the result also that Antipater's ally was elected by vote [as arbitrator] for the people. [Besides, Timaeus] ... him ... less ... [and some write about him

Col. VII 19–VIII 17

After some mutilated lines, we are in the context of Xenocrates' political adventures and his involvement in the embassy to Antipater after the defeat of Athens and the Aetolian League at Crannon at the hands of the Macedonians, which ended the Lamian War in 322 BC. The most helpful parallel source for the details is Plut. *Phoc.* 27.1–4, where we learn that Antipater greeted the other ambassadors (cf. 'having befriended then the others', VII 23–4) but refused to address Xenocrates. The terms of the 'drafted decree' (VII 38–9) are given at *Phoc.* 27.3:¹⁶ 'on condition that they delivered up Demosthenes and Hyperides, reverted to their earlier constitution with its basis of property qualification, received a garrison into Munychia, and, in addition, paid the costs of the war and a fine'. Plutarch records the same 'bon mot' reaction by Xenocrates, namely that these terms are suitable for slaves but not for free people. The second memorable quotation on his refusal of Athenian citizenship (VIII 6–11) also appears in *Phoc.* 29.4, only there it is Phocion rather than Demades who makes the offer.

¹⁶ See also Dillon 2003: 91–4.

- 28 ρη γενέσθαι καθ'
 ην αὔριοι
- 30 . .αν. ἀκοῦσαι δ' ου. . .
α περι τὴν ἑορτ[ὴν].

- 34 . .τηναγω. .ασ. . . .ς ἐπ[ι-
 35 δ[η]μο[ῦ]ντας. ἐκατ[ὸ]ν δὲ [γε-
 νομέ<ν>ων τῶν π[ινόν]των
 ἐκ]ατὸν χόξες εἰς[ηνέ]χ[σ]θη-
 σ[α]ν χρυσοῖ τῶι πτότωι [ύ]πὸ [τ]ῶ[ν]
 παίδων· καὶ παρατεέντος
- 40 ἐνὸς ἐκάστῳ πλήρο[υς] οἴνου
 καὶ χρυσοῦ στεφά[νου] μεγ[ά]λου τ[ε]
 [[τε]] καὶ καλοῦ τεθέντος εἰς
 τὸ μέσον ἐπὶ τριποδίου, τῶι
 πρώτῳ π[ιό]ντι τὸν οἶν[ον]
- 45 δώσειν ἔφη. καὶ νικήσας Ξ[ε]-
 νοκράτης ἔλα[βε]ν αὐ[τὸν] κα-

IV

- πὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἀπέθετο, κα-
 θάπερ εἰώθει τοὺς [ἀ]νθι-
 νούς· διαδοθείσης δὲ [τ]ῆς
 πρᾶξεως ἔθαυμάσθ[η] μᾶλ-
- 5 λον ὁ τὸ χρυσίον ὑπεριδὼν
 τοῦ τοσαῦτα παρῆσ[ε]υακ[ό]-
 τος αὐθημερὸνο. .σ. μαθ[ητ]ᾶς δ' αὐ-
 τοῦ φέρουσιν νο.καιδ. .ρεν.ιναιενοι. Ξ[ε]-
 νοκράτης τε συγ[γεν]ῆς ὦν,
- 10 Μήτηρων κα[ὶ] ὁ Αἰτωλ[ὸς] Ἄ-
 δείμαντος [καὶ] Κράντωρ Κολεῦς
 καὶ Κράτης Ἀ[θ]ηναῖος καὶ ὁ
 Μεσσήν[ιος], καὶ Ὀλυμ-
 πιάδης . [. καὶ Πολέ-

VIII 41 καὶ supra lineam additum in P

IV 7ο. .σ supra lineam habet P

7 μαθ[ητ]ᾶς e corr. P (ς superscr.): μαθ[ητ]αὶ ante

8 φέρουσιν e corr. et usque νιναιενοι. supra lineam additum in P: φέρονται γεγονέναι ante

that] ... to have become ... tomorrow ... to hear ... regarding the festival ... [being present]. And since there were a hundred drinkers, the slaves [brought in] a hundred cups of gold for the drinking. Next, after (a cup) full of wine was placed in front of every guest and a large and beautiful golden wreath was laid in the middle on a tripod, he (*sc.* Dionysius) declared that he would give (the wreath) to the first one to finish drinking the wine. When Xenocrates won, he took it

IV

and placed it on the statue of Hermes, as was customary to do with flower wreaths. And when this action became widely known, the man who despised gold gained greater admiration than the one who had prepared so many things in a single day (*sc.* Dionysius) ... His disciples are reported to have been ... Xenocrates [who was also a relative of his], Metron and Adeimantus of Aetolia, [Crantor of Soloi], Crates [of Athens], ... of Messene, Olympiades ... and Polemo of Athens, who

Col. VIII 35–IV 7

After some badly preserved lines we find the anecdote of the drinking contest won by Xenocrates, which took place at the court of Dionysius the Younger¹⁷ in Syracuse during the festival of the Choes (cf. Ath. 10.437b; Ael. *VH* 2.41; D.L. 4.8). The story is attributed by Athenaeus to Timaeus, who must have been Philodemus' source too (his name features just before the mutilated lines at VIII 17).

Col. IV 7–17

List of Xenocrates' pupils, including Crantor, Crates of Athens and Polemo, who is already highlighted as the next scholarch.

¹⁷ Hence Dionysius is thought to be the subject of ξφη at VIII 45 and παρσκευακός at IV 6–7. See also Dillon 2003: 90–1.

- 15 μων Ἀ[θην]αῖος, ὅ[ς] διεδέ-
ξατο τῇ[ν] διατριβήν· τοῖς δ'
ἄλλοις [- - -
19 - - - ἐ]παῖν[έ]σας[ν]τες
- - -
21 πάνθ' ὅ[σ]- - -
ἡκῶν χ[- - -
24 . . α ξδειξας α.τωμα[- - -

IX

- μάντ]ις τεχνικ[ός ο]ὔτος ἦν [- - -
νας – τινὲς δ' ὥς καὶ γραμμα-
τοδιδάσκαλ[ο]ς Ἡρακλείδης {ἦν καὶ Ἡράκλειτος},
ἔστιν δὲ ταῦτά τῇι δυνά-
5 μει –, διότι «τῆς χώρας τῶν Ἡ-
ρακλε[ω]τῶν διὰ τινας αὐ-
χμούς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπομ-
βρίας ἀκαίρους στεῖρωθείσης,
[σ]υνέβη λι[μὸν] περὶ Ἡ[ρά]κλει[αν]
10 γενέσθαι π[αρά] πάμπολ[λ] ξ-
τη. ψηφισαμ[ένων] δὲ τῶν Ἡ-
ρακλεωτῶ[ν] αἰτεῖν, ὥσ]περ
φ]ασί, τ.σο. Κη-
φι]σογένους τὴν [Πυθί]αν
15 . . . αὐτ. πασχον[τ]. το
- - -
18 ον. Π]υθί[α]. . .
- - -
21 δ. τὴν προσ.τ[- - -]
φασ[ι] τὰ δ' α. . . . τη. . . .
- - -
24 - - - Ἡρα]κλείδ[. . . .
25 τον. . . . η. ἑαυτοῦ
35 - - - τῶ]ν [Ἡρ]ακλε[ι-
ῶ]ν παρθ.η. . . α. . ωι.η. . .
.ι. γινομένης δὲ τ[ῆ]ς ἀνα[γ-
νώ]σεως, πρῶτων κα. . . ρα. .

succeeded in (the leadership) of the school. To [the] others ... having praised ... everything that ... have shown ...

IX

He was a skillful [diviner] and some say that Heraclides was also a schoolmaster, but in fact these (claims) amount to the same thing. (It is recorded that) 'due to the fact that the land of the Heracleans became sterile because of continuous droughts and unseasonable heavy rain, it so happened that famine raged in the area of Heraclea [for very many] years. As they say, when the Heracleans decided by vote to ask (the Pythia) ... of Cephisogenes ... [the Pythia] ... Pythia ... of him ... of the Heracleans ... and as soon as the reply (of the oracle) was read, (Cephisogenes died) collapsing on the ground ...

Col. IX 1–X 11

Following some lines where very little is legible (IV 17–25) and which may have contained a transition, col. IX begins with some remarks on Heraclides of Pontus. The inclusion of Heraclides here contrasts with Diogenes Laertius, who includes him among the Peripatetics (D.L. 5.86–94). He may have been a pupil of Aristotle's, but was also a member of the Academy and was even a candidate to succeed Speusippus in 339/8 BC.

Most of Philodemus' report on Heraclides deals with his involvement in manipulating an oracle and his subsequent death, paralleled in a more compressed form in D.L. 5.91, where Hermippus is named as the source.¹⁸ It would appear that Heraclides took advantage of a famine in his native Heraclea to extract extraordinary honours by colluding with the θεωρός (named Cephisogenes in Philodemus) and with the Pythia, in order to obtain a spurious oracle.¹⁹ But soon after the reading of this oracle all the conspirators received their comeuppance in the form of sudden deaths: Cephisogenes collapsed, Heraclides fell down several rows of theatre seats and broke his head, while the Pythia was bitten by a snake.

¹⁸ Bollansée argues that Philodemus must be using a source different from Hermippus, because of differences in the depiction of Heraclides' and the Pythia's death. See Bollansée 1999: 78–9 and his commentary on FGrHist IV A 3, F 71.

¹⁹ The content of the oracle according to D.L. 5.91: 'they would be rid of the calamity if Heraclides, the son of Euthyphro, were crowned with a crown of gold in his lifetime and after his death received heroic honours'.

X

- τῆς κερκίδος σφάλλετα[ι] καὶ
 φερόμενος ἕως εἰς μέσον
 τὸ θέατρον καὶ ὑπὸ βάθρου
 πληγεῖς συνετρίβη τὴν
 5 κεφαλὴν, ὥστε μετ' ὀλίγον
 τοῦ διαφθείροντος ἐκπ[ν]εῦ-
 σαι. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῇ[ν] προ-
 φῆτιν εἰς τὸν νεῶν εὐκαί[ρως
 πορ]ξομένην ἐπ[ι]βῆν[αι
 10 δρὰ]κοντι καὶ δηχθεῖσα[ν
 ἀποθανεῖν». λέ[γει] δ' ἄν-
 θρωπος καὶ βελτ[ί]ο[να] μαθη-
 τὴν [τ]ε καὶ πολίτην γεγο-
 ν[έ]ναι [το]ῦδ' ἐν [φιλ]οσ[ό]φοις
 15 ἀμ]εῖν[ω] δὲ π[άν]υ] ρήτο[ρα] . . .
 ἕνα προ. . . λε. . . περὶ [δὲ τῆς
 τέχ]ν[ης] . . . αν.
 καλὸν ε. . . . γε[- - -
 ἐ]πιβουλ[- - -
 23 η]νεγμε[- - -
 καλοῦ μ. . [- - -
 25 σοφοῦ [- - -
 27 .δ' ὑπ[ὸ] τούτ[- - -
 . .]ναι ταῦτα
 ἐ]παρκεῖ . . . κατε.ορ. . . αι
 30 ονεκει. .ο ἡ ρῆσις[- - -
 παρὰ τοῖς ρήμ[α]σιν ω[- - -
 ἀληθῆ λ[έ]γει κ[ατ]ὰ τῶν [φιλο-
 σό]φων, [ὥσ]περ κ[αί] Δίων[ος] γε
 τοῦ Κυρακοσίου πολλῶν τὰς

X 14 [το]ῦδ' ἐν [φιλ]οσ[ό]φοις suppl. Gaiser

15 [ἀμ]εῖν[ω] suppl. Gaiser

15 π[άν]υ] suppl. Tsouna

15 ρήτο[ρα] suppl. Tsouna

29 [ἐ]παρκεῖ e corr. (ut vid.) P: [ἐ]πακεῖ ante

X

He (*sc.* Heraclides) missed the step of the row of seats and, falling all the way to the middle of the theatre and being struck by a base (of stone), had his head smashed, so that he expired a little after the man who had bribed (the Pythia). Moreover, it also happened that, as the prophetess was going towards the temple at the appointed time, she stepped on a serpent, was bitten, and perished.' Also, the man (mentioned above) says that there had been both a better pupil and a better citizen [among the philosophers than this one (*sc.* Heraclides) and besides a much better orator] ... about [the] art ... fine (*acc.*) ... fine (*gen.*) ... wise (*gen.*) ... these ... is sufficient ... the saying ... alongside these sayings ... he speaks the truth against the philosophers, for instance, because many have related the actions of Dio of Syracuse.

Col. X 11–40

Only a few lines in the beginning and end of this section are legible. The content seems to be part of a debate on students of philosophy and how they turn out when they become involved with affairs of state. Such a discussion (for a which an unnamed 'man' is mentioned as a source at X 11–12²⁰) would fit with the adventures of Heraclides mentioned above, with the reference to Dio of Syracuse at X 33–4 (whom Philodemus considers too well-studied to discuss here), as well as with the lengthy account on Chaeron of Pellene that follows. The whole thing is a digression from the sequence of scholars interrupted after Xenocrates and picked up again with Polemo in the second part of col. IV, after col. XII.

²⁰ Gaiser identified the source with the *Oration Against the Philosophers* by Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes, which was also used by Athenaeus; see Gaiser 1988: 209–11, 486–8 and 119–23.

- 35 πράξεις ἀπηνγελκ[ό]τω[ν. οὐκ ἐ-
μὸν ἐν τοῖς νῦν προκει[μέ-
ν]οις ἐπισυνάγειν καὶ ταῦ-
τα· ο]ὕδ' ἐμὸν, τί πηι πεποι[η-
ται] κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν [τί δὲ οὗ
40 . .νου τοῦ μέντο[ι] Πελ-

XI

- ληνέως [τ]οῦ Χαίρωνος, ἐπει-
δήπερ οὐθ' <ἐν> ἐνποδῶν ἐσ-
τι, παραθετέον ἃ κατεχώ-
ρισ]εν Ἑρμιππος ἐν τῷ Πε-
5 ρὶ τ]ῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας εἰς
ἄρ]ιστ[ε]ίας καὶ δυναστεί-
ας μεθε]στηκότων· «Χαί-
ρων δ' ὁ Πελλήγιεὺς ἐν Ἀ-
καδημείαι μ[έν] παρὰ Πλά-
10 τῶ[ν]ι καὶ Ξενοκράτει
ἔμ[ενε]ν, ἀ[λλ]ὰ νενικηκώς
τὴν πάλ]λην ἀνδ[ρα]ς ἀπτῶς
δ[ις ἥ] τρίς, κα[θὰ] λέ]γετα[ι,
τ]ρίς δὲ Πυθίοις, [οὐκέτι
15 κ]ατὰ τὸν γεγ[να]ῖο[ν] ἄ]ρισ-
τον τ' ἄ[νδρ]α ὑποτ[ά]τ[τετ]α[ι] τὸν
. .ον. . . . ἴσων ἴσ. .
- - -
. . . . ἀ]ποδειξάμ[ενος
20 διὰ τῆς τόλ]μης ἔργα κα-
λὰ.τα τῶν
- - -
25 ἀλλὰ. .ατ. .
. κατ]αφρονου[ν]τ.
. σ]φόδ[ρ]α περι
- - -

X 35 ἀπηνγελκ[ό]τω[ν] e corr. in P (v¹ superscr.)

39 [τί δὲ οὗ] suppl. Tsouna

XI 14–16 [οὐκέτι κ]ατὰ τὸν γεγ[να]ῖο[ν] ἄ]ριστον τ' ἄ[νδρ]α ὑποτ[ά]τ[τετ]α[ι] suppl. Gaiser

It is not my task in the present work to bring into the discussion these reports too, nor is it my task (to discuss) what has been done somehow in accordance with (the principles of) philosophy [and what has not]. However,

XI

regarding Chaeron of Pellene, given that there is no impediment, it is advisable to add the information that Hermippus recorded in the treatise *On Those Who Have Gone Over from Philosophy to Positions of Prominence and Power*. 'Chaeron of Pellene [was residing] in the Academy under Plato and Xenocrates but, as it is said, having prevailed over men in wrestling [two or] three times without taking a fall, and also (having won a victory) three times in the [Pythian games], [he no more remained an obedient pupil according to the wishes of] the noble and excellent [man] ... of equals ... having demonstrably accomplished good things [through his daring] ... but ... [contemptuous] ... intensely ...

Col. XI 1–XII 41

The first source cited for the life and times of Chaeron of Pellene is Hermippus' work *On Those Who Have Gone Over from Philosophy to Positions of Prominence and Power*.²¹ The only other texts that refer to his story are Ps.-Dem. *Or.* 17.10 (an anti-Macedonian speech preserved in the Demosthenic corpus), Ath. 11.509a–b and Paus. 7.27.7. These sources confirm the main elements of Chaeron's career, namely that he was a successful wrestler who studied for a while in the Academy and was subsequently installed as tyrant in his native Pellene by the Macedonians (by Antipater, mentioned at XI 32), following a short-lived anti-Macedonian resistance in the Peloponnese in the late 330s BC. The parallel sources confirm the information about Chaeron's expulsion of free citizens, redistribution of property and forced marriages. It is worth noting that in Hermippus/Philodemus this behaviour is presented as a break from the teachings of the Academy, whereas Athenaeus' anti-philosophical source holds Plato's teachings responsible for Chaeron's transgressions.

²¹ On the reconstruction of the title, for which Philodemus is a major source, see Bollansée 1999: 72–5. He adopts *On Those Who Converted from Philosophy to <...> and the Exercise of Power*.

- 31μεν τῶι προσ.
] Ἀντιπάτ[ρ]ου. . . .
 . . .σα. . . δι[ὰ] Κορράγο[υ τῶν
 τε] τό[τε] μετὰ τοῦ[το]υ κα-
 35 λῶν ἐμ Πελοποννήσῳ
 στρατιωτῶν κατασχόν-
 τα τὴν πατρίδα τοὺς μὲν
 πολίτας ἐγβαλεῖν, το[ῖς] δού-
 λοις δὲ τὰ] κτήματά [τε

XII

- τ[ῶν] κ[υρ]ίων καὶ τὰς γυν[αῖκας
 δοῦναι». Φαινίης δ' αὐ[τ]ὸν [λέ-
 γει φιλότιμον ἐμ πλεονε-
 ξία γενόμενον καὶ τῇ[ς γ' Ὀ-
 5 λυμπικῆς νίκης [ἔ]τι κατ' ἀξί-
 ᾱν τύραννον [ἀν]αφανῆναι
 νεανικόν. ἐπ[ι]χειρήσαι δέ
 τινες αὐτὸν λέγουσι κ[αὶ]
 πόλιν κτίσαι [καὶ] ῥώνεια
 10 ἐγγύς τῶν [κα]λουμένων
 Μεγαρικ[ῶν]κει
 ωντελ. αὐτὸν
 λεγε ἐπιθ[ε]-
 μεν[- - -
 21ν. ὁ δ' εἰρηνένος
 δ[ὲ] Ξεν[ο]κράτ[η]ς σχολήν
 - - -
 37 π[ρὸς] τοὺς Ἀντιπάτ[ρου]
 πρέσβεις αὐ[τῶι] διὰ Κ[ο]ρ-
 ράγου καὶ τῶν μετὰ
 40 τούτου χιλίων ἐν Πε[λο]-
 ποννήσῳ [- - -

[of] Antipater ... with the aid of Corragus and the brave soldiers [then] accompanying him in the Peloponnese, after he took possession of his native city, he drove out the citizens and gave to the slaves [both] the properties

XII

and the wives of [their masters]. 'Moreover, Phaenias relates that, having become a lover of honour in his desire to acquire more and, indeed, also because of his well-deserved Olympic victory, he proved to be a reckless tyrant. And some say that he also attempted to build the city of Chaeronea next to the so-called Megarean ... him ... and indeed the aforementioned Xenocrates ... school ... [to] the ambassadors [of] Antipater ... to him ... through Corragus and the thousand soldiers accompanying him in the Peloponnese ...

At XII 2, Philodemus switches to a different source, the Peripatetic Phaenias of Eresus, who had written a work on *The Killing of Tyrants for Vengeance* and may have included Chaeron and his violent end (on which we do not have information in our other sources). Modern scholars are not in agreement on the precise relationships between the sources,²² but it is clear that the tale from Phaenias is an independent retelling of the story, with the additional information that Chaeron attempted to found a city named after himself (Chaeronea at XII 9). The reference to Antipater's ambassadors and the help provided by the Macedonian general Corragus and his troops is a doublet common to both versions (XI 32–5 and XII 38–41).²³

²² See Bollansée 2002, esp. 40–8.

²³ Bollansée 2002: 45–6 argues that both accounts were present in Hermippus, whereas Dorandi 1991a: 50 with n. 127 attributes the doublet to the provisional nature of Philodemus' own work.

IV

- 25 Ἄντ[ιγ]ονο[ς δ', ὅς
αὐτὸ[ς - - -
37 καὶ κουράν . . . ὑτω . . . ὦν,
ἄτ' ἐξ Οὔου τῶ[ν δῆμων ὦ]ν, ὥς
φησιν Ἀντίγ[ο]νος, υ[ί]δ[ος] δὲ Φι-
40 λοστράτου τῶν πρώτων
Ἀθηναίων, ἐλέγετο δ' εἶναι
τῶν [ἐ]πὶ τινὰ χρόνον ἄρμα-
τοτροφησάντων. ἰστρορεῖ-
ται δὲ κα[ὶ] νεανικ[ῶς] ἀκ[ό]λασ-
45 τος γεν[έ]σθαι τὴν πρώ[την],

XIII

- ὥστε] καὶ διὰ τ[ο]ῦ Κεραμει-
κοῦ πο]τε μεθύοντα κω-
μάσ]αι μεθ' ἡμέραν· φυγεῖν
δίκην αἰσχρὰν κακώ[ς]-
5 σεως ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς· εἶναι
γὰρ φιλόπαιδα καὶ φιλομει-
ράκιον· ὅς γε περιέφερε νό-
μισμα παντοδαπὸν, ἵνα τῶι
συναντή[σ]αντ[ι χρῆσ]θαι προ-
10 χείρως ἔχηι. θηραθεῖς δ' ὑ-
πὸ Ξενοκράτου[ς] καὶ συστα-
θε]ῖς αὐτῶι τοσοῦτο μετήλ-
λ]αξε κατὰ τὸν βί[ο]ν, ὥστε
μηδέποτε μήτε τὴν τοῦ προσώ-
15 που φαντασίαν δια[λῦ]σαι
καὶ σχέσιν ἁλλοιῶσ[αι] μ[ή]-
τε τὸν τ[ό]νον τῆς [φωνῆς]
ἀλλὰ ταῦτά διαφυλάττε[ιν]
καὶ δυσκ[ο]λώτερο[ν] ὀ[φ]ντα.

IV 25-6 = Antigonus of Carystus, fr. 8 Dorandi

IV 38-XV 46 = Antigonus of Carystus, fr. 9A Dorandi

XIII 3 ἡμέραν e corr. in P (με superscr.)

14 μήτε supra lineam add. P

IV

Antigonus himself who ... and a hairstyle ... because (Polemo), being from the deme of Oeon, as Antigonus says, and being the son of Philostratus, one of the noblest Athenians, was also alleged to be one of those who, for a certain period, bred horses for chariot races. It is recorded that, at first, he was also [licentious] in the most reckless manner,

XIII

[to the point that] one time he joined the procession through the Ceramicus drunk in full day. He was brought to a shameful trial by his wife on account of maltreatment; for he was a lover of boys and youths. In fact, he used to carry with him currency of all sorts in order to be able to use it readily with whomever he encountered. However, after he was captured by Xenocrates and associated with him, he changed his way of life so much that he never relaxed the composure of his face or altered (his) expression, nor did he (ever change) the tone [of his voice], but rather retained the same features even when [he was] quite displeased.

Col. IV 25–43

Following the digression on Academics' misadventures in positions of power, Philodemus picks up again the line of scholars, with the *Life* of Polemo, citing Antigonus of Carystus at IV 25 and, after a series of mutilated lines, again at IV 39. Not much is legible between IV 25 and 37, but towards the end of the column we have the information on Polemo's deme and noble descent (his family had a tradition of breeding horses for chariot-racing; cf. D.L. 4.17, also citing Antigonus).

Col. IV 44–XIII 10

These lines contain the tales of Polemo's youthful transgressions, which are paralleled in D.L. 4.16–17. It is striking that he was brought to trial by his wife on account of his liaisons with boys and youths.²⁴ It is possible that the grounds were financial, even though Philodemus' text does not link the litigation directly with the remark about his carrying money around: δίκη κακώσεως was an option in Athenian law for an ἐπίκληρος wife (heiress), cf. Harpocration, *Lexicon* p. 167 Dindorf, and it could be, as Dorandi 1991a: 53–4 suggests, that she was concerned about her fortune.

²⁴ See Dillon (in this volume, p. 191) for an interesting parallel with Alcibiades.

- 20 μά]λισ[τα δ'] ἐφυλάττε[το μὴ
 σκύλ]ακας δεδίη[ι· φα]σὶ [δὲ
 κ[ύν]α τῶν λυττώ[ντ]ων
 ἐπενεχθῆνα[ι καὶ τήν ι]-
 γνύαν αὐτοῦ δι[ασπά]σαι· [τ]οῦ[ς]
 25 μὲν οὔν ἄλλους τυχὸν ἐφ[ρα]-
 κότας ὥραξ[ιᾶσαι καὶ διατρα]-
 πῆναι, τὸν δ[ὲ δεδ]ηγ[μένον μέ]-
 νει]ν οὔτε τὸν . . .ατ. . .τα
νο. ὄ[νει]δος
 30 ἄλλο . . .ειν[- - -
 34 κ]αὶ παρεκά[λει - - -
 35 μ]ενον ει[- - -
 τε τοὺς εὔνου[ς]τε [τοὺς
 ὑπεναντίους ὀρώϊης κρατοῦν-
 τ]ας. ἔν τε τοῖς θεάτροις ἀπα-
 θῆ] καθῆσθαι, τῶν ἄλλων
 40 ἄν[σ]θυποφερομένων τοῖς
 λεγόμενοις. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ
 τὴν ιδέαν γεν[έ]σ[θ]αι π[ρὸς] ὑπό-
 βραχὺς μὲν, ἔχων δὲ γενναῖ-
 ὄν <τι> καὶ ταῖς αὐθαδίαν καὶ ξη-
 45 ρότητα γραφαῖς ἐμφαιν[οῦ]-

XIV

- σαις, [φη]σ[ι Μέλ]α[ν]θός γ', ὁμοῖο[ν
 πολιτικῇ[ι σ]εμνότητι κεκοσ-
 μημένος. [ἐ]δυσ<χ>έραινε δὲ κα[ι
 τοῖς εἰς [ἀδύ]νατ' ἀνάγου-
 5 σι τὰς ἐρωτήσεις, ἀξιῶν
 ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν γυμνά-
 ζεσθαι. διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπ[ι
 χεῖρησιν ἀσόλοικος ἦν καὶ παν-
 τὸς ἔξω πεπτωκὼς ἀσ-

XIII 25 οὔν supra lineam additum in P

27 [δεδ]ηγ[μένον] suppl. Mekler

27-8 μέ[νει]ν suppl. Tsouna

29 ὄ[νει]δος suppl. Tsouna

He was [especially] mindful not to fear dogs. [They say that] a rabid dog attacked him and [tore apart] the muscle behind the thigh and knee. And while the others who happened to have seen the accident [fainted or turned away], he remained (impassive) [although he had been bitten] ... neither ... [nor any] other shame ... and [exhorted] ... those (who are) favourable ... while you would see that those who are opposed prevail. Moreover, in theatrical performances, he would sit still without emotion, whereas the other (spectators) were affected in response to what was being said. Also, it seems that he was rather short in stature, but nonetheless had [something] noble about him, and he resembled paintings (of men) exhibiting self-confidence and austerity,

XIV

as Melanthus says, because he had been adorned with the gravity of manner befitting a statesman. He was annoyed at those who used impossibilities as topics of debate, contending that one should practise on real issues. Therefore also, when he was engaging in this enterprise, he was free of solecism, avoided every witticism,

Col. XIII 10–XIV 2

The anecdotal narrative continues with Polemo's remarkable transformation following his 'pursuit' or 'conquest' by Xenocrates. The verb *θηράω* is used here with pederastic connotations and is also found in many similar contexts in Diogenes Laertius (including *ἐθηράθη* at 4.16 for Xenocrates and Polemo; cf. 4.17 and 4.24 for Polemo's 'conquest' of Crantor).²⁵ The vocabulary must reflect the interests of Antigonos of Carystus, the common source used by Philodemus and Diogenes, who also mentions Crates as Polemo's *ἐρώμενος* (D.L. 4.21).

The portrait of Polemo following his erotic/philosophical conversion is one of extreme calmness and impassibility (closely paralleled at D.L. 4.17–18). From Diogenes we learn that Melanth(i)us was the contemporary painter from the same school as Apelles (cf. Pliny, *HN* 35.32) who discussed Polemo's appearance in his work *On Painting*.

Col. XIV 3–12

The austerity noted by Melanthus in Polemo's appearance surfaced also in his behaviour, his literary taste and even his stance on philosophical method: at D.L. 4.18 the object of his condemnation are 'logical speculations' that are regurgitations of a handbook without

²⁵ See Warren 2002: 161–3; Dillon 2003: 156–7.

- 10 τει[σμο]ῦ καὶ Πινδάρειος ὁ[ρ-
 γ[ια]στῆ[ς] ἁρμονίας, ὡς ἄν
 εἴποι τι[ς]. καὶ πεφευγὼς τὸ
 κοιν[ὸν κ]αὶ πρ[ὸ]ς πᾶ[σ]αν ὀ-
 χλου συναγωγὴν ἡ[ιδε]σ-
- 15 μένο[ς κ]αὶ λειπόμ[ενο]ς
 κατὰ το[ύς] ἐ[κ]πατοῦ[ν]τας
 - - -
- 22 διαφόρου παντ[ὸ]ς ἐπάνω
 εν.νσ. . . .ι κριθείσῃ
 [δ]ι' ἄστειαν κἄν [ἄρ]έσκου[σαν]
- 25 σχέσι'ν τῇ πόλει [κ]αὶ [πᾶσ]ι διετ[έ]-
 λει θαυμαζό[με]νος κα[ὶ] ἐπ[αι]-
 γούμενος ἐπὶ π[αν]τὸς [πισ-
 τότητι καὶ σωφρο[σύν]ῃ· [καὶ
 πάσης ἕξω κακ[ο]πραγ[μο]-
- 30 σύν]ης ἀ[πεδ]έχ[θ]η κ[αὶ] κα-
 κώ]σσεως ζῶν. οὐδ' α.ον. . .
 .γο.ωνεχ. . δικα[σ]τήρι[ο]ν
 ἡ[[ι]] κοινόν ἄ[ρ]χεῖον, [ε]ἰ μὴ [ἄ-
 νάγκης πα[ρ]ά[σ]τασι[ς] κατα-
- 35 λάβοι. τὸ δὲ πόλ[εω]ς δ[ιαμέ]-
 νειν ἕξω [διε]νο[εῖτ]ο μόν[ον], ὥσ-
 τε καὶ τῶν [γ]νωρίμ[ων] τοὺς
 πολλοὺς οἱ[κοδο]μησαμέν[ους]
 ἐν τῷ κήπ[ω]ι καλύβια μέ-
- 40 νειν αὐτοῦ [κ]ατὰ τὸ πλεῖσ-
 τον. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ νεανί[σ]-
 κῶς ἐκθαυμ[άσ]αι Ξενοκράτην
 ἐξ ὧν αὐτ[ὸ]ν ὕμνει καὶ ἐ-
 μιμεῖτο π[άντο]θεν τὰ περὶ
- 45 αὐτοῦ. λέγ[ετ]αι δὲ καὶ φιλο-
 σοφοκλῆς γενέσθαι καὶ μά-

XIV 25–6 [πᾶσ]ι [δ]ιετ[έ]λει suppl. Tsouna

37 [γ]νωρίμ[ων] Gaiser: [γ]ωρίμ[ων] Dorandi

and was, as one might say, [an enthusiastic follower] of Pindaric harmony. Also, because he avoided public life, and moreover shunned any gathering of the crowd, and being left alone in the manner of those who withdraw from society ... of everything (or: everyone) different ... above ... what has been judged because of (or: for the sake of) a good and even agreeable relation to the city. And [he continued being admired and praised by all] in every respect, because of (his) trustworthiness and prudence. Furthermore, [he was acknowledged] to conduct his life away from every [evil-doing] and suffering. Nor [would he] ... a court of justice or a public office unless the manifestation of some need compelled (him to). He was [minded] to live alone outside the city so that many of his companions, having constructed cottages in the garden, would stay there most of the time. Also, it seems that, from a young age, he admired Xenocrates, and for this reason he sang his praises and imitated everything about him in every way. Besides, it is said that he admired Sophocles and,

any practical basis. On the whole we find Polemo favouring a solid practical grounding ('real issues') over fancy dialectical games.

Col. XIV 13–XV 3

Further instances of Polemo's severe and retiring character. His preference for living outside the city led many of his associates to follow him in makeshift accommodation. It is not clear whether the 'garden' in question was that of the public sanctuary of the Academy or of Plato's private villa, because D.L. 4.19 places the huts by the shrine of the Muses and the *exedra*.²⁶

²⁶ See Plut. *De exil.* 603b–c; Dillon 1983 and in this volume, pp. 198–9.

XV

- λιστα τὸ πα[ν]α[ρμονιότατον
 τῆς φωνῆς καὶ παρὰ[βολον
 ἀποδέχεσθαι. ἔφη δ' Ἄρκεσί-
 λαος ὅτι αὐτῶι παρὰ Θεοφράσ-
 5 του μετελθόντι φανείη-
 σαν οἱ περὶ τὸν [Π]ολέμωννα
 θεοὶ τινες ἢ λ[εῖ]ψανα τῶν
 ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν
 ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους διαπε-
 10 πλασμένων ἀ[νθ]ρώπων,
 ὃ καὶ ὀλίγ[οι]ς ἔτ[ι] ἐπεφ[έ]ρεθ'
 οὕτω [βασιλ]ικῇ[ν καὶ τ]ηλι-
 καύ[τ]η[ν] [τὴν] ἑαυτῶν] φύ-
 σι[ν] ἔχει[ν οὐ]δὲ διέ[λει]πο[ν]
 15 λέγοντ[ε]ς [ώ]ς μάθοιε[ν] μά-
 λιστα Πλάτωνος. ᾤψε[σι]π-
 πον δὲ καὶ Ξεν[ο]κρά[τ]η[ν]
 εἰς τελικῇ[ν] . .ιγ. . .σα
 . .ετ. τοσοῦτου[ς δ]ὲ
 20 .γηγ. . . ἔφη δεινὰς . . .
 - - -
 23τε πως [αὐ]τοὺς [- - -
 26 . . .] ἅπαν[τ'] ἐδόκει ζη. .
ανδ. .μ[- - - Ξενο]κράτους λιπῶ[ν - - -
 29 τὰ] μειρά[κ]ια σεμνόν τε καὶ
 30 φιλ[όπο]νον. μετὰ ταῦτ[α δὲ]
εν Κράτητος
 διατεθεῖς
ως ε. .ησα
 - - -

XV 1 πα[ν]α[ρμονιότατον] suppl. Tsouna: πα[ν]α[ρμόνιον] Wilamowitz

2 παρὰ[βολον] suppl. Buecheler, Mekler

11 ὀλίγ[οι]ς ἔτ[ι] suppl. Tsouna

11 [ἐπεφ]έρεθ' suppl. Buecheler, Mekler

12 [βασιλ]ικῇ[ν καὶ] suppl. Gaiser

13 [τὴν] ἑαυτῶν] suppl. Tsouna

14 [οὐ]δὲ διέ[λει]πο[ν] suppl. Gaiser

27 [- - -] Ξενο]κράτους λιπῶ[ν - - -] huc inseruit supra lineam P

29 σεμνόν e corr. in P (μ superscr.): σεμόν ante

XV

most of all, he appreciated the [perfect harmony] and [boldness] of (his) language. Arcesilaus said that, when he went over from Theophrastus (to the Academy), Polemo and his associates appeared to him like some gods or remnants of those ancients, namely, those men who had been formed out of the golden race – a description that [already back then could be applied to few people, (indicating) that they have a nature so regal and so magnificent] – [nor did they ever cease] to say that they had learned the most from Plato. Besides, (he says that) both Speusippus and Xenocrates ... to the final ... but so great that ... he said ... wonderful ... [somehow they] ... everything seemed ... of [Xenocrates] ... having left ... the youths ... both dignified and [industrious]. After these (events?) ... of Crates ... having been disposed ...

Col. XV 3–23

Arcesilaus' favourable judgement on 'Polemo and his associates', derived from Antigonos of Carystus, is repeated at D.L. 4.22 in the *Life* of Crates, but Philodemus' account seems to be fuller.²⁷ It links the admirable nature of these men to their Platonic education, and some connection seems to be made also with Speusippus and Xenocrates, but the text is uncertain in these lines (XV 18–25).²⁸

Col. XV 26–46

The story of Polemo's pursuit of Crates must begin in the lacunose section between XV 25 and 29. It appears that Polemo was rivalled by one of the leaders of the Academy²⁹ who had an impressive physique even at a mature age, but he persevered until he succeeded.

²⁷ Thus Long 1986: 434; Glucker 1998: 305–9.

²⁸ See Dorandi 1991a: 52, 93.

²⁹ According to Gaiser 1988: 246, 521–2 this was Telecles.

- 35ς τῶν ἀφηγου-
 μένων τῆς Ἀκαδημείας, [ὅς
 ἐδ[ό]κει καὶ τῷ σώματι βέλ-
 τισ]τα διακεῖσθαι τῶν ἐγδυ-
 ομένων καὶ τῶν ἱκανῶς
 40 βε[β]ιωκότων εἶναι, π[α]ρα]σπῶν-
 τος τὸ μειράκιον μήτ' εἶξαι
 μήτε καταπλαγῆναι, μέχρι
 δὲ τούτου πολεμῆσαι καὶ δι-
 αντᾶραι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕως
 45 ἐξηργάσατο καὶ μετήγαγε
 τὸν Κράτητα πρὸς ἑαυ[τό]ν.

XVI

- Κ]ράντων δὲ Κολεῦσι, ὥς
 φησι, θαυμαζόμενος δέο[ν
 κατέλιπε τὴν εὐήμερ[ίαν,
 καὶ παραγενόμενος Ἀθ[ή]να-
 5 ζε πρῶτον μὲν Ξενοκρά-
 τούς ἤκουεν, ὕστερον δὲ
 μετὰ Πολέμωνος ἐσχόλα-
 ζεν, καίτοι πολὺ διαφέρω[ν
 ἐν οἷς ἔπα[ι]ξε]ν. [οὔ]το]ς [κ]αὶ φι-
 10 λόπονός ἦ[ν] .υρ[- - ποιη-
 τικός ο[ὐ]κ ἔλ[α]ττον . .ο. πε-
 ριέπε[σ]εν εἰς επ. . .ιδ. . στίχων δ'
 εἶναι τρεῖς μυριάδας, ὅς' ἔλι]πε[ν,
 ὧν ἕνι καὶ Ἀ[ρ]κεσίλαι τι[ν]ές τό[τ']
 15 ἀνετ[ί]θη[ε]σαν .ουτω. . . .εντα.
 - - -
 19 - - - α]ὐτοῦ[ς]
 20 - - -
 22 λων ἑαυτόν [- - -
 25 Σπευσίππ[ο]υ [- - -

XVI 1-15; 41-S 9 = Antigonos of Carystus, fr. 11A Dorandi

XVI 10-11 [ποιη]τικός ο[ὐ]κ ἔλ[α]ττον suppl. Gaiser

of the leaders of the Academy [who], especially because he looked both supremely well developed in his body in comparison to the (other) strip-lings and belonging to those who have reached a sufficiently mature age, in his effort to [pull away] the youth (*sc.* Crates), he (*sc.* Polemo) neither gave way nor was intimidated, but he fought and competed against him until he achieved his goal and attracted Crates over to his own side.

XVI

Crantor, as (Antigonus) reports, although he was admired by the citizens of Soli, found it necessary to abandon his good life (*sc.* in Soli) and, when he arrived in Athens, he first attended the lectures of Xenocrates and then studied with Polemo, although he was very different (from the latter) regarding the things in which he [found entertainment]. [He too] was industrious ... [and no less capable of writing poetry] ... [he fell upon] ... (It is said) that he left in total thirty thousand [verses], some of which some people then attributed to Arcesilaus. ... them ... himself ... of Speusippus ...

Col. XVI 1–12

The *Life* of Crantor begins at the start of col. XVI, and is indicated by a *diple obelismenē* in the text. He was admired in his homeland on account of his poetic prowess,³⁰ but we are in the dark as to what made him 'abandon his good life' – the syntax and meaning of the participle δέον in Philodemus' text are hard to interpret.³¹ The passage is very close to D.L. 4.24, only there Crantor and Polemo are said to have been fellow pupils under Xenocrates.

Col. XVI 13–15

This is the first reference to the question of the involvement of Arcesilaus (who did not leave any writings of his own) with Crantor's books. Here, as at D.L. 4.24, we have 'certain people' attributing some of Crantor's 30,000 lines to Arcesilaus. Some lines below, in the *Life* of Arcesilaus (XVIII 34–40), however, a further anonymous source ('certain people' again) is cited claiming that Arcesilaus 'modified' (μετατιθέναι) Crantor's works; cf. D.L. 4.32: 'others say that he was caught revising some writings, which some say he published, others say he burnt'.³²

³⁰ Most of D.L. 4.25–7 is about Crantor the poet.

³¹ Cf. Dorandi 1991a: 192 'segundo una necessità(?)'.

³² Editors frequently supplement 'some writings <by Crantor>'. See also Long 1986: 432 with n. 2: 'unpublished memoirs left by Crantor, some of which, we can infer, were edited and published by Arcesilaus'. Philodemus' text at XVIII suggests that it was his own works, rather than his revision of Crantor, that Arcesilaus may have burnt. See Hatzimichali in this volume, p. 273, for the suggestion that the tradition of Arcesilaus deliberately altering Crantor's works may have arisen from his innovative sceptical turn.

- 35 τωι [- - -πε-
 ριῆν [- - -
 βίον [- - -
 την[- - -
 οὐκ ἐλαττόνων [ο]ῦσα[ν] ἄ-
 40 ξίαν ἤλω διατα.
 φιλο. τούτου δέ φησιν
 ἐγλείπ[οντο]ς ἤδη πυνθά-
 νεσθ[α]ι τὸν [Ἀρκεσί]λαν, πότε-
 ρον αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς [κ]ο[ιναῖς
 45 θάψωσιν ἢ [ἐν ἄλλαις θήκαις.

S

- οὗτος δ' "ἐν γῆς φίλης ὄχ-
 θοισι καλόν" ἔφη "κρυφθῆ-
 ναι". δι[αβεβαιου]μένου
 δὲ τοῦ Πο[λ]έμων[ο]ς καὶ νο-
 5 μίζοντος αὐτὸν δεῖν ἐ-
 ν αἷς αὐτοῖ μέλλουσιν τε-
 θῆναι θήκαις, εἶπεν ὥς "οὔ-
 τε πρότερον ἀντ[έ]τ[ει]ν' ἀ[ὐ-
 τῶι πώποτε οὔτ[ε] νῦ[ν]". καὶ
 10 οὐκ ἀφηγησάμε[νος μέγ' ὄφε-
 λος ἐγ[έ]νετο τοῖς κοι[νοῖς
 κατὰ τὴν [- - -
 27 εἰναί φα[σι] - - -
 των τοῖς [- - - με-
 ταχειρισθεῖσιν· [μαθητὰς δ' αὐ-
 30 τοῦ] φέρουσι τιμ[ίους· Βίωνα μὲν
 τὸν Β]ορυσθενί[την καὶ τὸν Ἀ-
 σπ]ένδι[ο]ν Εὐμέν[ην, οὗ τὰ
 περὶ κωμωιδίας εἶναι, καὶ [τὸν
 Κῶ[ιο]ν Εὐρύπυλον καὶ τὸν [Ἀ-
 35 θηναῖον Κράτητα καὶ [τὸ]ν
 Πι]ταναῖον Ἀρ[κ]εσίλα[ον
 καὶ] τὸν Κύπ[ριον] - - -

[was going about] ... way of life ... being worthy of no lesser things captured ... (Antigonus) says that, when he (*sc.* Crantor) was just about to die, [Arcesilaus] asked him whether they should bury him in the [common] graves or [in some other graves],

S

but he replied: 'It is good to be buried in the hills of one's own land.' And when Polemo insisted and held that they should bury him (*sc.* Crantor) in the same graves in which they themselves (*sc.* Polemo and Arcesilaus) would be buried in due course, he said that he had not contradicted him ever before nor would he do so now. And although he failed to become the leader of the school, [he nonetheless was of great use for public affairs] ... they say that it is ... to what had been taken in hand. It is reported that [he had illustrious disciples]: [Bion] of Borysthene, Eumenes [of Aspendus], whom the writings on comedy belong to, Eurypylus of Cos, Crates of Athens, Arcesilaus of Pitane, ... of Cyprus ...

Col. XVI 19–S 28

Lines XVI 16–38 are largely illegible, other than a reference to Speusippus.

The transition from col. XVI to S contains an anecdote about Crantor's burial wishes, also found at D.L. 4.25, including the quotation from an unknown tragic poet (S 1–2 = *TiGrF Adesp.* 281), which is in keeping with the source's emphasis on Crantor's poetic talents. On the matter of their common burial, apparently Crantor was not persuaded by his lover Arcesilaus,³³ but could not refuse his teacher Polemo.

From S 10–28 we can only read a few words at the beginning, which must be a reference to the fact that Crantor never became a scholarch of the Academy (but made alternative contributions, on Gaiser's interpretation; cf. Dorandi 1991a: 240).

Col. S 29–37

List of Crantor's pupils, among whom Bion (D.L. 4.46–53; at 4.51 Crates is mentioned as his teacher³⁴), Crates and Arcesilaus are familiar names, but nothing certain is known about Eumenes of Aspendus or Eurypylus of Cos.³⁵

³³ Their relationship is discussed alongside that of Polemo and Crates at D.L. 4.21–2. See also Numenius, *Fr.* 25.59–61 *Des Places*.

³⁴ Cf. 4.23, where Arcesilaus is also mentioned among Crates' students. It is not problematic to suppose that these men studied both with Crantor and under Crates after Crantor's death.

³⁵ See Dorandi 1991a: 55, n. 161 and 56, n. 162 for reports of some attempts at identification.

R

- 3 πα[ν]τάπᾱσιν οὐ μόνον
 παρ' αὐτῷ[ι] περιενεχθῆναι
 5 εὖν[οίαι] κ[αί] θαυμασ[θ]ῆναι
 τοῖς Ἀ[θη]να[ί]οις, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 παρὰ [τ]οῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, ἀποδε-
 ξαμ[έν]ων καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα
 τῶν ὄχλων καὶ τὴν τοῦ
 10 λόγου τά[ξιν ὧ]σπερ Ἀντί-
 γονος γέγραφε δι' οὗ του

Q

- 2 - - -] λέγε-
 ταιτεν. πρὸ
 το[ῦ Π]ολέ[μωνος] κατὰ Φιλοκ[ρ]ά-
 5 την ἐγλιπε[ῖν] τὸν βίον. Ἀν-
 τίγονος δὲ γρ[ά]φει διότι «Π[ο-
 λέμωνος τε[λ]ευτήσαντος
 ὁ Κ[ράτ]ης δια[[ι]] [δ]εξάμενός [τε
 τ[ὴν δι]ατριβ[ὴν] καὶ κριθε[ῖς ἄ-
 10 ξιος εἶ]ναι τ[ῆ]ς ἡγεμονία[ς
 ρων [τὸ]ν αὐτὸν . . .

XVII

μετ[ᾱ] δυεῖν μὲν ὁμομητρίων
 κα[ὶ ὁ]μοπατρίων, ὁμοπα-
 τρ[ί]ο[υ δ]ὲ Μοιρέου τοῦ καὶ ἐπι-
 τροπεύσαντος αὐτόν· τῷ

R 3–11 = Antigonos of Carystus, fr. 16 Dorandi

Q 5–10 = Antigonos of Carystus, fr. 13 Dorandi

XVII 1–14 = Antigonos of Carystus, fr. 17A Dorandi

R 10–11 [ὧ]σπερ Ἀντί[γονος γέγραφε] suppl. Gaiser

XVII 1 μὲν supra lineam add. P

R

Not only was he (*sc.* Adeimantus?) favoured by him (*sc.* Xenocrates?) and admired by the Athenians in every respect, but also by the Aetolians, because the crowds appreciated both the man and the order of his discourse, as Antigonus has written, by means of which ...

Q

... [it is said that] ... he (*sc.* Crantor) died [before Polemo], during the archonship of Philocrates. Antigonus records that, after Polemo's death, Crates, who [both] became his successor in the direction of the school and was judged to be worthy of its leadership ... the same ...

XVII

(Arcesilaus) had two (brothers) from the same mother and two from the same father. Moireus in particular, who was a brother from the same father, was also his tutor.

Col. R 3–11

The placement of col. R between S and Q and the conjecture that the subject is Adeimantus of Aetolia go back to Gaiser (1988: 532), based on the reference to Adeimantus, alongside Crantor, as an associate of Xenocrates' at col. IV 10–11; cf. Dorandi 1991a: 56. Half of the lines in this very short column (14 lines in total) are illegible.

Col. Q 2–12

There has been some controversy over the subject of ἐγλίπτε[ιν], i.e. who it was that died in the archonship of Philocrates (276/5 BC): Polemo and Crates have both been proposed. Dorandi, however, correctly draws attention to the information in the Eusebius/Jerome *Chronicle* that Polemo died in 270/69 BC and to D.L. 4.27: '(Crantor) died before Polemo and Crates, his end being hastened by dropsy.' It makes good sense, therefore, to take the opening of the column as a reference to Crantor's early death in 276/5, also serving to explain why it was Crates who succeeded Polemo in 270, as described in lines 8–10.³⁶ The remaining eight or so lines of col. Q must have been also devoted to Crates.

Col. XVII 1–14

It is clear that we are now in the *Life* of Arcesilaus, because of the very close parallel for the information on his siblings and the role of Moireus at D.L. 4.28–9: once again, the common content is due to the dependence of both Philodemus and Diogenes on Antigonus of Carystus; cf. Dorandi 1999c: 19–20.

³⁶ For all the details see Dorandi 1991a: 56–8.

- 5 δ' εἶδει γενόμενος ἄστεϊος
 εὐσχημόνως κεχρήσθαι
 λέ[γε]ται καὶ πάσης ἀγωγῆς
 τυ[χ]ῶν εὐθύς ἐξ ἐ[φή]βων
 10 ἐπ[ὶ] φιλοσοφίαν ὀρμήσαι, καί-
 τοι τοῦ Μοιρέου δι[ὰ] τὸ [ρ]ητο-
 ρικῆς ἀγωγῆς ὑπε[ρέ]χον
 ἀντιπρά[ττο]ντο[ς, συ]γερ-
 γὸν λαβῶν τῶν ὁμ[ομητ]ρί-
 ων τὸν πρεσ[β]ύτα[τον] . . .
 15 τηδ. . . προτερ[- - -
 20 - - - [πα-
 ρὰ τοῦ Μουσῶν ἐννγα
 πα. .νισ.φηβω. τοῦτ[ο]ν
 τὸν [δ'] ἐπ<ι>εικῆς κατ' ἐνιαυ[τὸν]
 - - -
 31] . Ἀκαδήμιον σ[.
 .α. . .κει. . .σειν. . ἔτι ἄ-
 [σ]θενέ[σ]τ[ε]ροςειαν.
 .η. ὕμν[η]θεῖς [δ' ὑπὸ Κράν]τορο[ς] . .
 35 . ἄρχει. .εν.νι συ[ν]γε
 γονότων . . .α.αυ. . .
 . .σ. . . .ικως. [ῆ] Θεόφρασ[τον]
 γ' ἔλε[ιπεν] ἢ πρότερον ἀνέ-
 βλεπε [καλ]ῶς ἔχων. τελευ-
 40 τήσαν[το]ς δ] ἐ Πολέμω[νος]
λω. ἦν, ἐ[ῖ]τα [Κράτητος]

XVIII

τὸν βίον ἐγλιπόντος αὐ[τὸς]
 καθ' αὐτόν, ἐκχωρήσαντος
 αὐτῷ τῆς διατριβῆς Ὡ-
 κρατίδου τινός, ὃν διὰ τὸ πρεσ-

XVII 39–XVIII 7 = Antigonus of Carystus, fr. 18A Dorandi

XVII 23 ἐνιαυ[τὸν] suppl. Tsouna: ἐνιαυ[τούς] Dorandi

37–8 [ῆ] Θεόφρασ[τον γ'] ἔλε[ιπεν] suppl. Tsouna: [ῆ] Θεόφρασ[τον δ] ἐ λεί[πων] Gaiser

39 [καλ]ῶς suppl. Gaiser

It is said that he was pleasant in his appearance and had made decent use of it. And having received a thorough education, as soon as he became an ephebe he immediately turned to philosophy, despite the fact that Moireus tried to oppose him because of the [superior reputation] of rhetorical training, enlisting as a supporter the oldest of his brothers by the same mother ... [next] to the ... of the Muses ... to this very man ... good for [a year] ... Academic ... even [weaker] ... [and having been praised by Crantor] ... having associated with each other ... [either he left Theophrastus or he was looking up with confidence already beforehand, because he was doing well]. After the death of Polemo ... and then after [Crates]

XVIII

died (as well), he (*sc.* Arcesilaus) remained by himself (the director of the Academy), because a certain Socratides,

Moireus' intervention conforms to the topos of the conflict between rhetoric and philosophy, presented more dramatically in D.L. 4.29 in connection with Arcesilaus' rejection of Theophrastus' Peripatus for Crantor and the Academy, including the poetic and erotic overtones favoured by Antigonos.³⁷ From D.L. 4.28 we also learn that the name of the eldest maternal half-brother who helped Arcesilaus in his pursuit of philosophy was Pylades.

Col. XVII 15–38

Only a few isolated words and phrases are legible in these lines. According to Gaiser's reconstruction (1988: 537–41) there is reference to Arcesilaus' poetic tastes and to his move from Theophrastus to the Academy (cf. Numenius, Fr. 25.15, 58–61 Des Places; D.L. 4.22 and above on XV 3–25).

Col. XVII 39–XVIII 7

Arcesilaus' succession to the headship of the Academy: nothing more is known on this Socratides, whose voluntary withdrawal is also mentioned at D.L. 4.32, but without the important information that he had been chosen in a vote by the younger members of the Academy. See also Glucker 1978: 234, n. 25.

Col. XVIII 8–16

Arcesilaus' innovations in the Academy are here described in interesting terms: following a period during which he argued for a posited thesis in the way Academics from Plato to

³⁷ See Long 1986: 440 for the inaccuracy of this, pointing out that even in the Peripatus rhetoric was subordinate to philosophy.

- 5 βύτατον εἶναι προεστήσαν-
 θ' ἑαυτῶν οἱ νεανίσκοι συν-
 ελθόντες καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
 τον εἰπ[ὼν] θέσιν ἐπεχείρει
 10 κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Πλ[ά]τωνός τε
 καὶ Cπευσίππου [δια]μείνα-
 σαν ἕως Πολέμ[ωνο]ς αἵρε-
 σιν· [εἶ]τα μετὰ [το]ῦτον
 παρ[εξ]έβη τὸ [τ]ῆς Ἀκ[α]δημει-
 κῆς ἀγωγῆς [ῆ] γένος ἢ σχῆ-
 15 μα τῇ γε δὴ φ[άσ]ει [τ]ε καὶ τ[ῇ]
 διαλύσει. i. τον
 ἐλθεῖν π[ρ]έπ[ει] κατα[- - -
 21 προστιθέμενον [- - -
 φέρων σ. . βρα. . . ε[- - -
 κατὰ γε τὸ τοιοῦτον - - -
 χρωμεν.ς .ο[- - -
 34 β. . . . [λε]ιφ[θέ]ντα ὑπὸ Κράν-
 35 τορος ὑπομνήματά [φησ]ι
 διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν καὶ μετα-
 τιθέναι· τινὲς αὐτὸν ἔφα-
 σαν αὐτὰ γεγραφέναι, τιν[ές
 40 δ' ἂ συνέγραψε κατακεκαυ-
 κέναι]. δόγμα δ' οὐδὲν οὐδ' αἵ-
 ρεσιν συ]νετίθει. διὸ καὶ τῶν

XIX

προσιόντων διίσταντο κα-
 τὰ ἥθη καὶ τὰς αἱρέσ[ε]ις ἄλ-
 λήλων, ὀλίγοι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κα-
 τεσταλμένον καὶ μέτρι-

whom the younger members of the school convened and elected as scholar because of his very advanced age, nonetheless left the school to him. At first, after he posited a thesis, Arcesilaus used to argue dialectically in accordance with the school practice that remained dominant from Plato and Speusippus to Polemo. Then however, after him (*sc.* Polemo's death), he transgressed the character or form of the Academic method, mainly by means of both [asserting a proposition] and refuting it ... [ought to] set out ... being added ... at least according to this sort of ... He says that (Arcesilaus) had in hand lecture notes [left] by Crantor and that he modified them. Some claimed that he has written these (lecture notes) himself, but others that he had burned everything that he wrote. He formed no view or doctrine (of his own), and for this reason also

XIX

his disciples were at variance with one another with regard to their characters and modes of life, a few turning towards restrained and moderate behaviour, while the majority turned towards more arrogant and more imperious behaviour.

Polemo had done, he then transformed Academic practice by both asserting and refuting a proposition – probably a reference to his arguing both *pro* and *contra* as found in D.L. 4.28.³⁸

More details on Arcesilaus' radical sceptical turn must have followed in the largely illegible lines XVIII 17–33. See also the hostile report of Numenius, Fr. 24.10–14 Des Places.

Col. XVIII 34–40

See above on XVI 13–15.

Col. XVIII 40–XIX 9

Arcesilaus' scepticism is here anecdotally linked with the variance of opinions among his pupils and, even more ambitiously, with their differences in character: Philodemus' source presumably assumed that a robust school dogma ensures uniformity of both thought and behaviour among students.³⁹

³⁸ Diogenes states that he was the *first* to do so, surely an exaggeration by a source who overlooked Protagoras; cf. Long 1986: 446–7.

³⁹ See also Hatzimichali in this volume, pp. 267–8.

- 5 ον, οἱ πολλοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ θρασύ-
 τερον καὶ δεσποτικώτερ[ον
 τραπέντες· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν
 παντοδαπὰς ἔσχον αἰρέ-
 σεις τε καὶ γνώμας. τὴν
 10 δ' αὐτοῦ κρίσιν [ἐ]ργῶδε[ς] μὲν
 ἐκθέσθαι κατὰ πᾶν. τοὺς α. . .
 το δ' ἄν τις φήσ<ε>ι<ε>ν εὐαρεστε<ῖ>ν
 αὐτὸν [μá]λιστα τῶν . . .
 γεγον[ό]των Πλάτ[ω]νος· καὶ γάρ
 15 ἐκέκτητ' ἔτι νέ[ος ὦν] τὰ βυ[βλί]
 αὐτοῦ κα. . . ος. . . θαυ[μασ-
 τόν τι [- - -
 21 την εἶναι δ[- - -
 .εσκοπτοί[- - -
 Πλάτωνος καὶ τὸ α[- - -
 25 δ' αὐτ. .εμ[- - -
 34 καις, οὐδὲκε. . .ενος
 35 ἀλλ' εὐήκοος [ἦν κ]α[ὶ ἐνόμι-
 ζεν] πᾶς ἄφ' ἑαυτ[ο]ῦ ὄντα <τὰ> λε-
 γ]όμενα, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοῦ[ς]
 αὐτοῖς τούτοις οἷον[εἰ κη-
 λουμένους εἴκειν τε καὶ
 40 ἡττᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀνά-
 κρίσιν· καὶ γάρ τινας ὀρᾶν

XX

- - - ἄ-]
 ποφαινόμ[ε]νος δ' [αὐτὸ]ς οὐ-
 δὲ ἔν, μόνον δὲ τὰς ἄλλας
 ἐλέγχων αἰρέσεις.

P

- 2 - - -]της μὲν τὴν
 - - - το]ῖς πάθεσι
 τι]νας χρόνους ε

These (disciples) then had all sorts of doctrines and opinions. However, it would be difficult to set out in a thorough manner his own judgement. But one might say that [of those who] ... of Plato ... pleased him most. For, in fact, he had acquired his [books] when he was still young ... something admirable ... to be ... of Plato and the ... nor ... However, he [was] pleasant to the ear and everyone thought that the discourses he recounted were his, so that the many, as if they were bewitched by these very discourses, were yielding (to him) and were defeated in the course of the debate. And indeed, one would see some people ...

XX

... [he himself] asserting nothing, but only refuting the doctrines of others.

Col. XIX 10–16

For Arcesilaus' early devotion to Plato and the acquisition of his books see also D.L. 4.32. The fact that this acquisition is deemed remarkable enough to record indicates that the Platonic corpus was not easily available in common circulation and private initiative (and expense) was required.⁴⁰ There may have been further references to Arcesilaus' attitude towards Plato, whose name comes up again in l. 23, but lines 17–34 are very lacunose.

Col. XIX 35–XX 3

These lines pertain to Arcesilaus' dialectical practice and its effects. He was pleasant to listen to and his interlocutors were persuaded of his sincerity and bewitched into defeat. The references here to bewitchment and 'refuting' (ἐλέγχων) are reminiscent of Socrates. A highly critical report of his seductive and beguiling powers may be found in Numenius, Fr. 25.41–56 Des Places.

⁴⁰ Thus Mansfeld 1994: 199. See also Tarrant in this volume, p. 209.

- 5 - - -
 8 μετὰ τοῦτο[ν - - - ἐ-
 κάστης εὐφ[- - -
 10 καὶ σ. . . . ωσι[- - -
 13 αἶ[ρ]ξι[ν] . . εκ[- - - Ἄκα-
 δήμει[α]ν τ[- - - πε-
 15 ρὶ τῆς ἰ. . . . δ[- - -
 17 τινε[ς] τροφ[- - -
 τῶν ἐν νικ[- - - φι-
 λοσοφεῖν λο[- - -
 20 νε καὶ παρ' ἑα[υτῶι τινας ἐ-
 σωματοποιε[ι]. τὸ μέντοι συ-
 νειπεῖν χαλεπ[ός, τὸ δ' ἐρω-
 τῆσαι καὶ πικρὸς [ῆ]ν, τ[ὸ] σκ[ῶμ-
 μα χάριτι μειγνύς. [- - -
 25 . . ει σπᾶνιον εἶναι ι[- - -
 μὲν αὐτὸς τῆς συγγρα[φῆς
 ἀπέστη[ι] τὴν ἐσομένην
 χ]ώραν τῆς ἀλλοτριολογίας
 - - -

XX

- - -] πολ-
 5 λῶν τοίνυν ἐ[ξ α]ὐτοῦ μαθ[ητῶν
 γενομένων τῇι μν[ή]μηι
 παρεδόθησαν Ἀριδείκας
 τε Ῥόδιος καὶ Δωρόθεος Τελ-
 φούσιος καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ
 10 Ζώπυρος Κολοφώνιοι κ[αὶ]
 Τελ[ε]κλῆς [Με]ταποντί-
 νος [ὁ] καὶ Πολέμωνος ἀ-
 κούσας] πρ[ό]τερον [- - -
 . . . ρος Μι. . . ιος κα[ὶ]

P 28 [χ]ώραν suppl. Kalligas

XX 5 τοίνυν superscriptum in P

P

... on the one hand the ... to the affects ... some times ... after him ... of each ... and ... doctrine ... the Academy ... about the ... to practise philosophy ... and he offered refreshments to [some] visitors [at his house]. However, he was difficult to talk with and also he was bitter in his questioning, mixing [mockery] with grace. ... to be rare ... he abstained from writing, (practising only) what came to be the domain of arguing against other people's doctrines ...

XX

So, while many disciples were trained by him, the ones remembered are Aridicas of Rhodes, Dorotheus of Tephousa, Dionysius and Zopyrus of Colophon, Telecles of Metapontium, who was also earlier [a pupil of] Polemo, ... and ...

Col. P 2–28⁴¹

Little is legible from this column, mainly between lines 20–9, where the subject is still Arcesilaus' discursive technique.

Under the verb *σωματοποιέω*, LSJ cites this passage (l. 20) for the meaning 'provide with refreshment' – perhaps taking the phrase to mean that Arcesilaus entertained some people ([τινός]) at his house (παρ' ἐα[υτῶι])? Cf. D.L. 4.37: 'he showed the greatest generosity in private life, being ever ready to confer benefits'.

Col. XX 5–44

List of Arcesilaus' pupils, many of whom are completely unknown otherwise. Aridicas is mentioned as an associate of Arcesilaus' in an anecdote at Ath. 10.420d. Telecles of Metapontum should not be confused with Telecles of Phocaea (on whom see below on XXVII 7–XXVIII 16).

⁴¹ See Dorandi 1991a: 61–2 on the placement of this column here and its attribution to the *Life* of Arcesilaus rather than that of Carneades.

- 15 . . . Ἐφε[σί]ους με[- - -
 . . . ου μ[αθη]τὰς α[- - -
 37 . . .] Ἐπιδάμνιος καὶ Ἀπολ[λώ-
 νιος καὶ Δημοσθένης [Με-
 γαλοπολιῖται (< . . > ὃς μετα[θέ-
 40 μ]ενος τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀ[πέδω-
 κ]εν τέλος), Δωρόθεος Ἀ[μι-
 ση]νὸς καὶ Λακύδης Κυ[ρη-
 ναῖ]ος καὶ Πυθόδωρο[ς ὁ καὶ
 σχολὰς ἀναγράψας ἀ[ὕτοῦ
 45 - - -

XXI

- ας προει. . . φασ[ὶ δέ] τινε[ς
 τὸ πρῶτ[ον ο]ὔτως ἀ[ὕτὸν
 ἀπόρως [ἔχ]ειν ὡς φη.ου
 - - -
 6 διὰ δὲ ἰσεισ. . . .[ἀ]τονίαν [τε] καὶ
 ἥπτόμον οἶ[ον] ἀψύχους τοῖς
 γυμνασί[οις] αὐτὸν ἀνα-
 . . ν πείνα[ι - - -
 36 - - -] δὲ ἀγριων. . . .αν
 τὴν μέσσην Ἀκ[αδήμει]αν
 καὶ πλανῆτιν οὐδὲν ἦτ-
 τον τῆς Κυθικῆς ζω[ι]ῆς
 40 στῆ[σ]αι τὴν ἀγωγὴν ἐξ ἀμ-
 φοῖν κεράσαντα καὶ γεωτέ-
 ρα[ν] προῆσαι καλεῖ[σθαι καὶ

O

- - -
 13 . . . γ' Ἄτταλος [- - -
 . . . αἰδοίας [- - -

XX 37 καὶ superscriptum in P

XXI 3 ὡς Tsouna

9 πείνα[ι] suppl. Tsouna

the Ephesians ... [disciples] ... of Epidamnus, Apollonius, and Demosthenes of Megalopolis, < ... > who, by changing (Arcesilaus' approach) posited pleasure as the moral end, Dorotheus of [Amisus], Lacydes of Cyrene, and Pythodorus, who also wrote out his lectures ...

XXI

... Some say that [he] (*sc.* Lacydes) was so poor at first that ... he ... in the gymnasia [like] lifeless people [because of hunger] ... (And they say that) he stabilised the Middle Academy, which (had been) wandering about no less than the Scythians, thereby constituting the school by combining both features, and he caused it to be called New (Academy) and

Lines 39–41 appear to be a reference to Dionysius of Heraclea 'the defector'; he is styled ὁ μεταθήμενος by Philodemus in his history of the Stoa (*Ind. Sto.* XXIX 5–6) and at Ath. 7.281d–e and 10.437e, where Antigonos of Carystus is cited as the source.⁴² Dorandi (1987: 123) suggests that the material may have been wrongly inserted here in the book on the Academy, with which Dionysius is not otherwise associated.

The list closes with Lacydes, Arcesilaus' successor, and the otherwise unknown Pythodorus, who recorded Arcesilaus' lectures.⁴³

Col. XXI 1–42

The *Life* of Lacydes of Cyrene begins with this column, but little is legible in the beginning, other than the reference to his poverty, paralleled at D.L. 4.59.

The main interest of this column lies in the remark that Lacydes 'stabilised' the Middle Academy of Arcesilaus, and inaugurated the New Academy. Gucker (1978: 235) proposes that this inauguration might have been a matter of new premises (D.L. 4.60 speaks of a new garden constructed for him in the Academy by King Attalus, called the Lacydeum). But, as Lévy shows, Philodemus' text requires a metaphorical interpretation of the words 'stabilised' and 'wandering' in terms of philosophical stance.⁴⁴ The 'blend of both' must be a combination of Arcesilaus' critical argumentative stance with the pre-sceptical tradition of the Academy from Plato to Polemo. At any rate, Philodemus (or his source) is here endorsing a periodisation of the Academy in three phases, with a Middle sceptical one and a New moderate phase. As Lévy points out, this is at odds with sceptical sources like Sextus (*P.* 1.220; cf. Eus. *PE* 14.4) and Cicero, who speak of a sceptical New Academy and tend to suppress Lacydes' significance.⁴⁵

⁴² Cf. Cic. *Luc.* 71 and D.L. 7.166–7, possibly also derived from Antigonos.

⁴³ See Hatzimichali in this volume, p. 273 for this practice.

⁴⁴ Lévy 2005: 54–60. He also makes the most of the reference to the 'life of the Scythians', suggesting that the Middle Academy was also characterised by aggression (56), and draws an interesting parallel between Philodemus' *πλανήτιν* and Cicero's reference to *Academiam volaticam* at *Att.* 13.25.3 (55).

⁴⁵ Lévy 2005: 59–60.

- 16 δ[ἐ τῶν γν]ωρίμων [Εὐμένης
τε καὶ Ἄτταλος [τῆς] Ἀσ[ίας
β]ασιλεῖς. ἐτελεύ[τησαν δ'] Ἀπ[ολ-
λῳ]νιος μὲν κατ' ἄ[ρχοντ'] Ἐπαίνε-
20 τον ὃ δ' ἄδελφὸς Εὐβουλ[ος] ἐ-
π' Ἀρισ[τ]οφῶντος τοῦ [μετὰ
Θεαίτητον, ὃ δ' [Ε]φέσιος Εὐβου-
λος καὶ ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος ἐ[π'] Ἀ[λ]ε-
ξάνδ[ρ]ου. συ[ν]ῆσαν [δὲ καὶ
25 κα{ι}τὰ τὸ μ[εμν]ημένον
τέτταρες Ἀρίστωνες [ὧν ὁ
μὲν Ἐφέσιος, ὁ δὲ Μαλλώ[της]
ὁ δὲ Καρχηδόνιος, ὁ δὲ [- - -
ος. συνέβ[η δὲ] καὶ τοὺς [δύο
30 Εὐβούλου[ς] τελευτῆσ[αι
κατ' ἄρχοντ'] Ἀλέξανδρ[ον].
Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ὁ Τηλε[κλέ-
ους μαθητῆς [ὁ κ]αὶ [ἀ]ν[αγεγρα-
φῶς ὑπο[μν]ήμ[ατ'] ἐκ τῶν
35 σχολ[ῶν αὐ]τοῦ [- - -]

N

- 2 - - - [διάδο-
χον αὐτο[ῦ] - - -
5 αὐτοῦ τῶν αἰτ. . . ατων
περ[ι]έσπασεν. διὸ τοῦτω<ι> μὲν
οὐ κ[ατέ]λιπε τελευτῶν
τὴν διατριβήν, ἀλλ' ο[ὐ]δ' ἄ[λ-
λ]ω<ι>, χρεῖον ο[ὐ]κ ἔχων [ὥς φα-
10 σιν [ἀγ]ωγῆς τ[οῦ]τον [τὸν τρό]πον
τω.αιπερι. . . ημεν[ο] - - -
ων.μ[αθητὰς] ἔλ[ιπε
καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον Κυ- - -
α.ι καὶ Κλεόκριτον κα[ὶ] Ἀρίσ-

O 28 ὁ² supra lineam add. P

N 6 περ[ι]έσπασεν e corr. P (σ superscr.)

10 [ἀγ]ωγῆς τ[οῦ]τον [τὸν τρό]πον suppl. Mekler

O

Attalus ... showing reverence ... among his familiars (were) the kings [Eumenes] and Attalus of Asia. They died, Apollonius during the [archonship of Epainetus], his brother Eubulus during the archonship of Aristophon, who came [after] Theaetetus, and Eubulus of Ephesus and (Eubulus) of Erythrae during the archonship of Alexander. [Moreover], four (disciples named) Aristo are listed in the records, [of which] one was from Ephesus, another from Mallos, another from Carthage, and another from ... It so happened that [both] (the disciples named) Eubulus died during the archonship of Alexander. Apollonius, the pupil of Telecles and the one who [had written out] notes from his lectures ...

N

... his successor ... he robbed him of the ... For this reason, when he was dying, he did not leave him (the directorship of the) school, nor did he leave it [to anyone else] because, [as they say], he did not consider necessary [this manner of running the school] ... He left as disciples Apollonius ... Cleocritus, Aristo,

Col. O 1–35

The beginning of this column is not legible, but the reference to Attalus and other Pergamene kings may be compared to Lacydes' Attalid connections at D.L. 4.60. The rest of the column lists associates of Lacydes', focusing on the chronology of their deaths (see below on col. XXVII 7–XXVIII 16). The emphasis on dates reflects the interests of the new source used by Philodemus for the period after Arcesilaus, namely the *Chronology* of Apollodorus of Athens.⁴⁶ It is indicative of the unfinished state of Philodemus' text from PHerc. 1021 that largely overlapping lists appear in columns O and M, as well as in the verbatim quotation of Apollodorus' verse *Chronology* at col. XXVII.

The persons listed in col. O are otherwise unknown. Lines 32–5 are of particular interest as a testimony for the practice of pupils recording the teacher's lectures.⁴⁷

Col. N

It is not clear who the subject is in this column, nor is its placement here entirely secure, especially given the very provisional state of the text even as it left Philodemus' scriptorium.

Lines 5–11 are particularly interesting from the point of view of succession procedures in the Academy: the scholar in question rejected a particular successor for personal reasons (? because he 'robbed him' of something), but then went on to reject the entire

⁴⁶ On Apollodorus see especially Dorandi 1982.

⁴⁷ See Hatzimichali in this volume, p. 260.

- 15 τωνα καὶ Ἀρισταγόραν Καλα-
μίγιον καὶ Θῆριν ἐξ Ἀλεξαν-
δρείας, οὗ μαθητῆς ἐγένετο
Δίων ὁ Θρᾷ<ι>ξ, [ο]ῦ Διονυσόδ[ω-
ρος Ζμυρνα[ῖος, Λ]εόντιχο[ς
20 Κυρηναῖος, [C]ωκράτ[η]ς, αὐ
δαιδο ὑπο[μν]ηματ[- - -
23 γράψας αἰ. . . .εντ. . . . Εὐ-
άνδρωι [- - -
25 δὲ αὐτόν [- - -

M

- - -
10 διαδόχους δὲ τούτους κατ[α-
λιπὼν θνή[ισ]κει, Λεοντέα καὶ
Δήμωνα Κυρηναῖον καὶ Δη-
μήτριον [καὶ Πο]λίτην Φωκα-
ε[ῖς]. τογὰρ κ[αὶ δύο] Εὐβούλους
15 ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἀντήν[ο]ρος <υί>ος ἦν Ἐ-
ρυθράϊος ὁ δὲ Καλ[λ]ικράτου]ς
Ἐφέσιος, καὶ Μοσχ[ῖωνα Μαλ-
λώτην καὶ Ἀγαμήστ[ορα - - -
κ[α]ὶ Εὐά[νδρ - - -
20 καὶ Τηλ[εκλέα καὶ Εὐφορί-
ωνα [- - -
24 ὀλίγον οἱ[- - -
28 τον. . ὁμοῦ καταν[- - - ὁ
δ' Ἠγη[σί]νους ου[- - -

XXII

- - -
3 νοντο [ἀποσ]πασθῆσεσθαι
συντασ[σόμε]νον ἀπὸ τῆς
5 - - -
ασενωιζο. . . καὶ τὸ πᾶν

N²³ γράψας TsounaM¹³⁻¹⁴ Φωκαε[ῖς] suppl. Tsouna

15 ος ος superscr. P

Aristagoras of Salamis, Theris of Alexandria, whose pupil was Dio of Thrace, whose (*sc.* Dio's) disciples were Dionysiodorus of Smyrna, Leontichus of Cyrene, Socrates ... [lecture notes] ... [having written] ... to Evander ... but him ...

M

... He (*sc.* Lacydes) died having left these successors, namely Leonteus, Demon of Cyrene, Demetrius and [Polites] of Phoece; also two (disciples named) Eubulus, of which the one was the son of Antenor and came from Erythrae, while the other was the son of Callicrates and came from Ephesus and, moreover, [Moschion of Mallos], Agamestor ... [Telecles and Euphoriion] ... a little ... together ... as for Hegesinous ...

XXII

... will become detached from the ... joining ranks with ... and everything ...

practice of naming a successor. This makes it possible that the subject is still Lacydes, who did not have a single successor but handed over to a group while incapacitated through illness (Dorandi 1991a: 64). Only the people listed in column N are explicitly called 'pupils' (μαθητάς, l. 12), whereas those in col. M are 'successors' in the plural (διαδόχους, l. 10) and 'associates' (συνήθεις) in the Apollodorus quotation (XXVII 9–10).

The names in the pupil list of col. N are otherwise unknown.

Col. M 1–29

This column seems to list again the pupils of Lacydes, but is not identical with col. O or with the verbatim quotation from Apollodorus (it is much closer to the latter). Perhaps Philodemus used an alternative source, or these columns represent different note-taking sessions from Apollodorus.

Leonteus (l. 11), Moschion (l. 17), Evander (l. 19) and perhaps also Demon (l. 12⁴⁸) are mentioned by the *Suda* (*s.v.* Plato, π 1707) after Lacydes in a list of Plato's Academic successors. Numenius (Fr. 26.102 Des Places) mentions Evander as the successor of Lacydes.

At l. 29 the name of Hegesinous can be read, who was a teacher of Carneades according to Cicero (*Luc.* 16; cf. Numenius, Fr. 27.1 Des Places) and succeeded Evander in the headship of the school according to the *Suda* (π 1707).

Col. XXII 1–35

The *Life* of Carneades must have begun in this column, but its very poor state of preservation robs us of any biographical details.

⁴⁸ The *Suda* has Δάμων instead of Δήμων.

- . .ιρητο. .τ. .ἀ]ρχαίοις, τοὺς δὲ
 . .ωρ.ν. . τὰς σχολὰς
 ανεγν. διετέλει{ι}
 10 δὲ καὶ χ.μαχο[- - -
 35 ε.ατον. μα[θ]ηται δ' αὐτοῦ
 παραδέδονται γεγονέναι
 Ζήνων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς
 ὁ καὶ σχολὰς ἀναγράψας αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ προαπαλλάξας – τοῦ-
 40 τον δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπομνη-
 μάτων ἀναγιγνωσκομένων
 ἐλέγχει φασί] Ῥαρ[νε]άδην

XXIII

- ἐπὶ τῷ[ν] ἄλλων ὁξ[ύτα-
 τα – Ζηνόδωρος Τύριος κα[τ'
 Ἀ]λεξάνδρειαν ἡγησά[μενος,
 Ἄ]γων Ταρσεὺς ὁ καὶ εὐνό<ω>ς
 5 ἀν]αγρά[ψ]ας ἐκ τῶν σχ[ο]λῶν
 πλείω{ι} καὶ ἐπαινούμενος,
 Ἀγαθο[κ]λῆς Τύριος, οὗ δοκεῖ
 πολλὰ μεμιῆσθαι Χαρμά-
 10 δας, Ἀντίπατρος] Ἀλεξαν-
 δρεὺς, [Ἰ]ππαρχο[ς] Ἰλιεύς, Ἰππαρ-
 χος Πάφιος, Ὀλυ[μ]πικ[ὸς] Γαζαί-
 15 ος, Ἀρ[ισ]τάναξ [C]α[λ]αμ[ίνι]ος,
 Βίτων, Ἰάσων Ἀθ[η]να[ῖ]ος,
 Ἰάσων Πάρι[ος], Μελάνθιος,
 20 Ἀρι[στόδ]ωρο<ς>, Δ[ί]ων, Μ[η]τρ[ό]δω-
 ρο[ς] Ἀπαμεύς, Ξ.εὺς,
 - - -
 37 Cτωικαῖς . . [π]εριθεντ[- - -

XXII 7 τ in τοὺς superscr. P

39–40 του in τοῦτον superscr. P

XXIII 8–9 Χαρμάδας supra lineam inseruit P: X. . . .δ. . ante

10 ι² in Ἰλιεύς superscr. P

to the ancients ... but the others ... the school lectures ... and [he] continued ... Disciples of his have been recorded to have been Zeno of Alexandria, who also wrote out his lectures and died before him – in fact, they say that, while the lecture notes were being read, Carneades refuted him

XXIII

most sharply in front of the others – Zenodorus of Tyre who was the leader of the school in Alexandria, Hagnon of Tarsus, who also wrote out favourably most of the school lectures and received praise (for it), Agathocles of Tyre, many works of whom Charmadas seems to have imitated, Antipater of Alexandria, Hipparchus of Ilium, Hipparchus of Paphos, Olympicus of Gaza, Aristanax of [Salamis], Biton, Jason of Athens, Jason of [Paros], [Melanthius], Aristodorus, Dio, Metrodorus of [Apamea] ... Stoic ...

Col. XXII 35–XXIII 8

List of Carneades' pupils, with some additional information attached to some of the names.

We have further testament to the practice of writing up the teacher's lectures, and from the contrasting fates of Zeno (XXII 37–XXIII 1) and Hagnon (or Agnon) (XXIII 4–6) we also learn that Carneades gave strong feedback as to their accuracy.⁴⁹ Cf. D.L. 4.65 on Carneades: 'everything else (*sc.* other than some letters) was compiled by his students; he himself left nothing in writing'. Hagnon was also known to Cicero, who says that he was no less talented than Clitomachus (*Luc.* 16), and to Quintilian, who mentions a work entitled 'Indictment of Rhetoric' (*Rhetorices accusatio*, *Inst.* 2.17.15).

Zenodorus of Tyre taught at Alexandria, which has led scholars to postulate an 'annexe' of the Academy in that city, but there is no compelling evidence for this.⁵⁰

Agathocles of Tyre is not otherwise known, but apparently had a strong influence on Charmadas (on whom see below on XXXI 34–XXXII 10).

Col. XXIII 9–XXIV 9

This section is a continuous catalogue of names, all disciples of Carneades. Most of them are completely unknown, with very few exceptions.

Melanthius (XXXIII 14) is mentioned in the parallel section of the Apollodorus quotation (XXXI 4–8), where we learn that he was a successful tragic poet and a pupil of Aristarchus. A line that must come from one of his tragedies, with psychological

⁴⁹ Mansfeld 1994: 199, n. 110 highlights this evidence as significant for the practice of reading a text aloud in class.

⁵⁰ See Hatzimichali 2011: 26–7 and Lévy 2012: 291.

- 40 - -] Εὐκλεί-
 δης καὶ Καραπίων καὶ Διογέ-
 νης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Στρά-
 τιππος Νικομηδεῖς, Βατά-
 κης [N]ικαιε[ύς], Εὐπείθης
- 45 Πάφιος, Κρ[ι]τόλαος Ἀμιση-
 ν]ός, Διομ[έδων] Ταρσεύς, Πάμ-
 φίλος ἀπὸ Μ[αϊάν]δρου Μά-
 γνης, Ἀπολλών[ιο]ς Βαρκαῖος,
 Νικόστρα[τ]ος Ἀλεξ[ανδ]ρεύς, Βόηθος

XXIV

- Πάρι[ος, Μέ]γτωρ Νικαιεύς, Βίτων
 Κολεύς, Δημήτριος Θυατει-
 ρην[ός] καὶ ἕτερος Δημή-
 τριος [Ἀλ]εξανδρεύς, Διοπείθης Ἰλιεύς, Ἀσ-
 κληπιᾶδης Ἀπαμεύς ἐκ Κυ-
 ρίας, Δίων καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδω-
 ρος Γαζαῖοι, Ἱππαρχος Κολεύς,
 5 Ὡσικράτης Ἀλεξ[α]νδρεύς,
 Ζην[ό]δ[οτ]ος Κύπρι[ο]ς, Μητρό-
 10 δωρος [Στρ]ατογι[κεύ]ς ὁ καὶ

XXIII 47 ad φίλος, ὁ τὸ . . ε τ . . πασ superscr. P

XXIV 4 [Ἀλ]εξανδρεύς supra lineam add. P

4 ι² in Ἰλιεύς superscr. P

Euclid, Serapion, Diogenes, Herodotus and Stratippus of Nicomedeia, Bataces of Nicaea, Eupeithes of Paphos, Critolaus of Amisus, [Diomedon] of Tarsus, Pamphilus from Maeander in Magnesia, Apollonius of Barca, Nicostratus of Alexandria, Boethus

XXIV

of Paros, [Mentor] of Nicaea, Biton of Soli, Demetrius of Thyatira and another Demetrius of Alexandria, Diopithes of Ilium, Asclepiades of Apamea in Syria, Dio and Olympiodorus of Gaza, Hipparchus of Soli, Sosicrates of Alexandria, [Zenodotus] of Cyprus, Metrodorus of [Stratonicea], who also had listened earlier to [numerous discourses] by

connotations, is quoted twice by Plutarch (*De cohib. ira* 453e–f; *De sera* 551a): (the spirit – *thymos*) 'shunts off the mind and then does dreadful things'.⁵¹ According to Cicero (*Luc.* 16) Melanthius was noted for his charm (*suavitas*) among Carneades' pupils.

There is a reference to Stoicism in the long lacuna at XXXIII 17–39, which may have contained some reference to Carneades' controversies with that school (cf. D.L. 4.62).

Following a *diplē obelismenē* between XXIII 39 and 40 there is a list of names the first half of which (down to Boethus of Paros) appears almost identically at XXXII 32–42. In that section of the text these unknown individuals would appear to be pupils of Clitomachus', but perhaps the partial list is out of place there.⁵²

Among these names, Mentor of Nicaea (XXIV 1) may be the same as Mentor the Bithynian, who tried to seduce Carneades' concubine according to Favorinus (D.L. 4.63).

Col. XXIV 9–16

Philodemus' text offers some more detail on Metrodorus of Stratonicea, who had previously been a pupil of the Epicurean school. The Apollodorus at lines 13–14 is probably the 'tyrant of the Garden' mentioned at D.L. 10.25, whose date is compatible with that of Carneades and his pupils.

At XXVI 4–11, following a *diplē obelismenē*, there is a further note on Metrodorus, which is of importance from the point of view of the late Academy's philosophical history. Following an ambivalent remark that casts doubt on his true worth and credentials, we have Metrodorus' claim that Carneades did not advocate *akatalēpsia* (the more radical sceptical stance that nothing can be apprehended). Metrodorus was apparently aware that this was far from the standard view, since he claimed that everyone else had misunderstood Carneades.

⁵¹ τὰ δεινὰ πράσσει τὰς φρένας μετοικίσας (*TGF* p. 760 Nauck).

⁵² See Dorandi 1991a: 70 with n. 243: 'una scheda fuori posto'.

- πρότερον Ἐ[πικουρεῖ]ων ἄ-
κ[ούσας λόγους πολ]λοὺς καὶ
Ἄπ[ολλ]οδώρου, παραιτη-
θεῖ[ς] δ' [ύ]π' Ἀπολλοδώρου διὰ
15 τοῦ[το] Καρνεάδει παραβα-
λὼν ἐσχόλα]σεν [μετ' αὐτοῦ
- - -
27 - - -βιῶ]σας
- - -] κατέστρε-
ψεν ὁ τοῦ Πολεμάρχου], μεθ' ὃν
30 Κρ[άτης ὁ Ταρσεύ]ς δύο μόνον
ἡγ[ησ]άμ[ενος ἔτη ἐ]τελεύτη-
σε[ν· ἐν] ᾧ Κλε[ιτόμα]χος εἰς
Ἀκαδήμεια[ν] ἐπέβαλεν
μετὰ πολλῶν γνωρίμων
35 – πρότερον γὰ[ρ] ἐσχόλαζον
ἐπὶ Παλλαδ[ίῳ] – μετὰ τὴν
Καρν[εά]δου τελευτήν.

Epicurean philosophers and by Apollodorus but who, having been rejected by Apollodorus and for that reason having approached Carneades, [studied with him] ... having lived ... [the son of Polemarchus] (*sc.* Carneades) died, and after him Crates of Tarsus died after he directed the school for only two [years]. At this very moment, after the death of Carneades, Clitomachus with (his) many followers took hold of the Academy. For before that time they were holding the lectures on the Palladium.

The matter is controversial, particularly because our text appears to be contradicted by Cicero at *Luc.* 78, and we are also hampered by the lacuna that follows immediately after XXVI 11.⁵³

If the Metrodorus mentioned at XXXII 16 is the same person, we have the additional information that he taught 'outside the city', either outside the city walls or away from Athens altogether.

Col. XXIV 27–31

Somewhere in the lacuna of eleven lines the text must have turned to Carneades' successor, Carneades 'the Younger', the son of Polemarchus (Carneades of Cyrene was the son of Epicomus or Philocomus, D.L. 4.62). We learn here that upon his death he was succeeded for two years by Crates of Tarsus (mentioned in a list of intellectuals of the same name at D.L. 4.23). Other sources speak of Clitomachus as the direct successor of the elder Carneades (Cic. *Luc.* 16; D.L. 4.67). See also on XXV 37–XXVI 4.

Col. XXIV 32–XXV 19

The *Life* of Clitomachus begins with an interesting choice of words for his manner of succession following the death of Crates of Tarsus: the use of the verb ἐπιβάλλω ('burst into', 'fall upon', 'take hold of') suggests a more dramatic takeover than other successions by nomination or election. It could be Philodemus' own choice of wording, because the verbatim quotation of (one of) his source(s), Apollodorus' *Chronicle*, has 'moved to' (μετῆλ[θ]ε, XXX 11). Clitomachus' group apparently had been alienated after the death of Carneades, having set up an alternative venue for their lectures at the Palladium gymnasium, closer to the centre of Athens than the remote Academy.

⁵³ See also Hatzimichali in this volume, pp. 268–9; on the controversy see Brittain 2001, esp. 77–82, 213–15; Glucker 2004: 122–3 and Lévy 2005: 70–6.

XXV

- οὔτ]ος ἐπεκαλεῖτο μὲν Ἀσ-
 δρούβας, ἦλθε δ' εἰς Ἀθήνα[ς
 ἐτῶν τεττάρων πρὸς <τοῖς>
 ε[ῖ]κοσι γεγονώς, μετὰ δὲ
 5 τέτταρα σχολάζειν ἤρξα-
 το Ἰαρνεάδε[ι] καὶ συγγενό-
 μενος ἐννέα καὶ δέκ' αὐτῶι
 σχ[ο]λὴν ἰδίαν ἐπὶ Παλλαδί-
 ω[ι] συνεστήσατο ἄρχον-
 10 τ[ο]ς Ἀγνοθέου καὶ συνέσχευ
 μὲν δέκα· τὴν δὲ Ἰαρν[εά]-
 δου διεδέ]ξατ[ο] ἐπὶ Λυκίς-
 κου π[α]ρὰ Κ[ράτητος τοῦ
 Ταρ[σ]ό[θ]εν, ἡγησάμεν[ος δ' ἐν-
 15 νέα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη [κ]ατέ[στρε-
 ψεν{ρ} ἐπὶ Π[ολυ]κλείτου· τινὲς
 δὲ .α.στα. . . .υα.ν ἔτη . .
 [πρὸς] τοῖς ἐβ[δομή-
 κοντα [- - -
 22 . . Χ]αρμάδαςτι. .
 . . . νωνίτηςω. . .
 - - -

XXV

He (*sc.* Clitomachus) was originally called Hasdrubal and he arrived in Athens when he was twenty-four years old. Four years later he began attending the lectures of Carneades and, after he had been in his school for nineteen years, he founded his own school at the Palladium during the archonship of Hagnotheus and directed it for ten years. As for Carneades' school, he received the leadership of it [from Crates] of Tarsus during the archonship of Lyciscus and, after he had directed (the school) for nineteen years, he died during the archonship of Polyclitus. And some (say) ... that (he died) at the age of more than seventy ... Charmadas ... later ...

The *Life* is very rich in chronological detail, citing archons' names for every milestone in Clitomachus' career, going back once again to the *Chronology* of Apollodorus: he came to Athens from Carthage at the age of twenty-four (by contrast, D.L. 4.67 states that he was already forty years old) and studied under Carneades. He set up his school at the Palladium in 140/39 BC (archonship of Hagnotheus); he succeeded Crates in the 'official' Academy in 129/8 BC (archonship of Lyciscus) and died in 110/9 (archonship of Polyclitus).

The rest of this section is lacunose, starting with an alternative tradition ('some [say]', lines 16–17) specifying Clitomachus' age at death as seventy-something (the exact number is lost in a lacuna), and containing a reference to Charmadas.

- 34 κα. ν δ' Ἡρακλ[- - -
 35 ιωνος θ' ὕσ[τ]ερον
 - - - ὁ τοῦ] Πολεμάρ-
 χο[υ]ομ.δευς καὶ πα
 ρα.ιτ. νθε.ιν
 με[μ]ελητηκῶς, ζῶντα
 40 δ' [ἐ]τι Καρνεάδην διαδε-
 ξάμενος ἡγήσαθ' ἕξ ἔτη,
 κατέστρεψε δ' ἐπ' Ἐπικλέους
 ἄρχοντ[ο]ς, κατέλιπεν δὲ

XXVI

- διάδοχον τὸν συσχολασ-
 τὴν Κράτητα Ταρσέα [[ς]] τὸ [[.]]
 γένος, ἡγήσατο δ' [ο]ὔτ[ο]ς ἔτη
 τέτταρα. Μητρόδωρος
 5 δὲ ὁ Στρατονικεὺς μέγας
 καὶ βίωι καὶ λόγῳ γεγονῶς
 οὐκ ἀναλογούσας ἐδ[όκ]ει
 χάριτας ἔχειν, ὃς ἔφη [Κ]αρ-
 νεάδου παρακηκοέναι
 10 πάντας, οὐ γὰρ ἀκα[τάλη-
 πτα ν[ε]νομικέναι πά[ντα
 - - -
 14 . . . ἀπάντων ομ[- - -
 17 . . ἐπιχειρεῖν [- - -
 33 τιν' Εὐβούλ[ου χρόνον,] τοῖς
 τ' Αὐτ[ο]λυκεῖ[οις] τῶι τ' Ἀ[μυν-
 35 τη πολ]λάκις ἤδη προβε[βη-
 κ[ώ]ς] καὶ σχολῆς ἡγούμε-
 νος Διονυσίῳ τ' οὐ[χ ἦ]ττον
 ἀ[λλ' εὖ διε]τίθε[το] τῇι [τ'
 ἀγχινοία[ι] τ' ἀνδρὸς [ἄμα] καὶ
 40 τῶι λόγῳ. δεκάτῳ δὲ [τ]ῆς

XXV 35 νος superscr. in P

XXVI 2 τ in τὸ superscr. P

37 τ' οὐ[χ ἦ]ττον suppl. Mekler

38 ἀ[λλ' εὖ διε]τίθε[το] suppl. Tsouna: ἀ[λλ' εὖ δια]τεθε[ῖς] Mette

son of Polemarchus ... having studied ... succeeded to Carneades while the latter was still alive and directed the school for six years. He died during the archonship of Epicles and left

XXVI

as his successor his school-fellow Crates, whose origins were from Tarsus. [He] directed the school for four years. Metrodorus of Stratonicea, although he had achieved greatness in both his mode of life and his discourse, nonetheless did not give the impression that he possessed the corresponding gifts; and he was the one who claimed that they had all misunderstood Carneades, for he did not believe that everything is [inapprehensible] ... of absolutely all ... to attempt ... He (*sc.* Boethus) [was for some time a disciple of Eubulus]. And having already frequently [made more progress over] Autolycus and his followers as well as over Amyntes, and having become the leader of a school, [he was no less well disposed] towards Dionysius, because of both the man's sagacity [and] his discourse.

Col. XXV 37–XXVI 4

The information on Carneades' successors is repeated here, probably drawing on a different source from that used at XXIV 27–31. There is some additional information (e.g. that the elder Carneades was alive when he was succeeded; that Carneades the Younger died in 131/30 BC) and a discrepancy with the claim that Crates was head for four rather than two years.⁵⁴

Col. XXVI 4–11

See above on XXIV 9–16 for Metrodorus.

Col. XXVI 33–44

These lines are out of place here and are found again, in their proper position, at XXIX 6–17 – see below.

Somewhere in the lacuna between XXVI 11–33 must have begun the verbatim verse (trimeter) quotation inserted from Apollodorus' *Chronology*, covering more or less the same ground as the previous eight columns (including ONM).⁵⁵ It is testament to the provisional, draft nature of Philodemus' work as preserved by PHerc. 1021, in that the raw source material appears alongside some prose reworkings and additions from other sources.

⁵⁴ Thus also Dorandi 1991a: 95–6.

⁵⁵ Note, for instance, that at XXVI 43 Athens is referred to as 'our' city, something we would not expect Philodemus to say in his own voice.

He died later, in the tenth year after the death of Carneades, in the month of Thargelion, when Eumachus was archon in our city.

XXVII

... he (*sc.* Lacydes) handed over (the school after) eighteen years and, having lived another eighteen years, he died during the archonship of Callistratus. But others say that (this happened) during the archonship of Pantiades, since (in the last) ten years he abandoned everything (including the school) because of an illness. Associates of his were Paseas and Thrasus and, in the third place, Aristippus, and, furthermore, two most illustrious people, Telecles and Evander ... [to lead] life (*fut. tense*) ... Evander ... homes (or families?) ... Agamestor was still prominent (and) likewise the [two] men named Eubulus and, in addition to them ... Moschion, (having lived ...) years, he died from disease in the archonship of Eupolemus. After these events (died) Eubulus the Erythrean, whose father was Antenor, at the time when Alexander was

Col. XXVII 1–11

These lines refer to Lacydes and have an important bearing on his chronology. According to D.L. 4.61, Lacydes assumed the headship of the Academy in 241/40 (his source uses an Olympiad-based dating as opposed to Apollodorus' archon-based system) and died twenty-six years later, i.e. in 215 BC. By contrast, Apollodorus places his death in 208/7 (archonship of Callistratus) or, according to an alternative report, a year later in 207/6 (archonship of Pantiades). There seems to have been a period when Lacydes was less active due to illness, even though he may have remained (nominally) head of the school, and this could have contributed to the dating discrepancies among different sources (see Dorandi 1991a: 63–5). Cf. above on col. N on his attitude to succession procedures (if indeed that column refers to Lacydes).

Col. XXVII 7–XXVIII 16

List of Lacydes' pupils, with Telecles and Evander singled out as most illustrious – they are named as Lacydes' joint successors at D.L. 4.60. The others are only known to us from Philodemus/Apollodorus, and thanks to Apollodorus' chronological detail we have the dates of their deaths: Moschion died in 185/4 (archonship of Eupolemus); Eubulus of Erythraea and Eubulus of Ephesus both died in 174/3 (archonship of Alexander); Agamestor died after Perseus' defeat at Pydna (168/7, archonship of Xenocles); Telecles in 167/6 (Nicostrates); Apollonius in 166/5 (Epaenetus). An unnamed associate of the younger Eubulus (his guardian according to Croenert's supplement) died after the archonship of Theaetetus (after 143/2).

XXVIII

- ἄρχοντος· ἐπὶ ταυ[το]ῦ δὲ
 μετὰ μῆνᾶς τινας ὁ Καλ-
 λικράτους Εὐβουλος, ὦν
 δὲ τῷ γένει Ἐφ[έ]σιος· Ἀγα-
 5 μήστωρ δὲ μετ[ά] τὴν Περ-
 σέως ἄλωσιν, Ἀρκάς, υἱὸς
 ὦν Πολυξένου, ἐπὶ Ξενο-
 κλέους τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ
 βίου ἐπιοήσατ', ἐπ[ι] Νικοσθέ-
 10 νους δ' ὁ Τηλε[κλ]ῆς· ἐπὶ πᾶ[σι]
 δ' Ἀπολλώ[νι]ο[ς], καθ' ὃν [χρό-
 νον Ἐπ[αίν]ετος ἦρχε[ν,
 Τηλ[εκλέου]ς ἀκηκοώς·
 μετὰ [τὸ]ν Θεαίτητον δ' ὁ
 15 τοῦ νεωτέρου ἐπ[ισ]τάτ[ης]
 γεν[όμ]ενο[ς] Εὐβούλου νό-
 σωι . .αιπ[- - -
 34 τούτων τε. .τε.ε καὶ μιᾷ
 35 ἐκει “τὰ τῶν ἄλλων [πα-
 ραλαβὼν εἰ κάτω [σίγ]α
 τε”· καὶ πᾶ[ς] ῥῆσιν ὑ[βρ]ιστή[ς]
 ἔχει. [τ]ῷ Καρνεά[δ]η<ι> δὲ
 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἦν χρό[νον
 40 Βόηθος, υἱὸς Ἑρμαγόρου [Μ]α-
 ραθώνιος, τό τ' ἄλλ' ὃ δε<ι> π[ᾶν

XXIX

- κ]αὶ τὸν [νοῦν μάλισ]τα [πάνυ
 ἔχων φ[ι]λόσ[ο]φον, τ[ῷ]ι λό-
 γωι δ' ἀπ[α]λώτερος. οὗτος
 δ' Ἀρίστωνος μὲν ἦν ἀκη-
 5 κοῶς το[ῦ] τ' Ἐφεσίου β[ρ]αχὺν

XXVIII 15 ἐπ[ισ]τάτ[ης] suppl. Croenert

36–7 εἰ κάτω [σίγ]α τε”. Tsouna: εἰ κάτω· [σίγ]ᾱ[i] τε Dorandi

41 ὃ Tsouna: ὁ Dorandi

XXIX 1 [νοῦν μάλισ]τα [πάνυ] suppl. Tsouna

XXVIII

archon. And following him, after some months (died) Eubulus son of Callicrates, an Ephesian by origin. On the other hand, Agamestor of Arcadia, son of Polyxenus, after the capture of Perseus, took his departure from life during the archonship of Xenocles, while Telecles (died) during the archonship of Nicosthenes. In addition to all this, Apollonius, who had been a disciple of Telecles, (died) during the time when Epainetus was archon. And, after (the archonship of) Theaetetus, [the man who became the guardian] of the younger Eubulus (died) from disease ... 'having seized what belongs to others, lie low and [be silent]'; in fact, however, every outrageous man has something to say. Also, at the same time as Carneades lived Boethus of Marathon, son of Hermagoras, who had [every] other gift that is needed,

XXIX

and possessed [in the highest degree a philosophical mind], but was softer in his speech. He had been a disciple of Aristo and also, for a short time, of Eubulus of Ephesus.

Col. XXVIII 17–37

Lines 17–34 are in a lacuna where very little is legible, and lines 35–7 appear to be the conclusion of an anecdote or gnomic tale, but it is not clear who this refers to. Carneades may have been discussed in the lacuna, judging from the transition to Boethus ('at the same time as Carneades ...').

Col. XXVIII 38–XXIX 17

A fuller version of the material on Boethus of Marathon (cf. above on XXVI 33–44). Although otherwise unknown to us, Boethus was of considerable importance to Apollodorus, who devoted thirteen trimeters to him. Through his teachers he is connected to the 'line' of Lacydes and his pupils: Aristo (probably one of the four mentioned at O 25–7) and Eubulus of Ephesus (cf. O 22–3; XXVIII 3–4).⁵⁶ It is very hard to interpret what precisely was his connection with the 'Autolyceans' and Amyntes because of the peculiar use of *προβαίνω* + dat. (lines 7–9), which does not normally entail a comparison, so the meaning would be 'made progress with respect to the pupils of Autolycus and Amyntes'. We could perhaps press on the information that Autolycus of Pitane had been

- τιν' Εὐβούλου χρόνον, τοῖς
 τ' Αὐτολυκεῖρις τῶι τ' Ἀμύν-
 τηι πολλάκις ἤδη προβε-
 βηκῶς κ[αὶ] σχολῆς ἡγο[ύμ]ε-
 10 νος, Διον[υ]σίωι τ' οὐχ [ῆ]ττον
 ἀ[λλ' εὖ διε]τίθε[το τ]ῆι [τ'] ἀ[γχι]-
 νοίαι τὰν]δρὸς [ἄμα καὶ
 τῶι λόγωι]. δεκάτ[ωι δὲ τῆς
 15 τοῦ Κ]αρνεάδο[υ μεταλλα-
 γῆς] ὕστερον [ἐπ' ἄρχοντος
 παρ' ἡμῖν Εὐμάχου Θαργη-
 λιῶνος μηνὸς ἐξέλιπεν βίον
 - - -
 39 τ]οῦ| Κα[ρνε]άδ[ου διὰ γ]ῆρας, ἤδη
 40 τὴν ἐλλείποντος παρέλα-
 βεν ἐ[ξ]έδραν τε καὶ σχο-
 λὴν ἧ[ς προστάτης ὦν

XXX

- δ[ι]ε[βί]ωσε[ν ἔξ ἔ]τη. παρὰ Καρ-
 νεάδου δὲ τοῦ Πολεμάρ-
 χου τὸν βίον ἐπ' Ἐπικλέους
 ἄρχοντο[ς] ἐγλελο[ι]πτότος
 5 Κ]ράτης ὁ Ταρσεύς τὴν
 σχο[[δ]]λὴν δι[ε]δέξατο. τοῦ-
 του δὲ δύ' ἔτη διακατασχόν-
 τος μόνον Κλειτόμα-
 χος ἐν τ[ῶι] Παλλαδίωι
 10 σ]χολὴν ἐ[χων] εἰς τὴν Ἀ-
 καδ]ήμε[ιαν] μετῆλ[θε] γνω-
 ρίμων πολλῶν μέθ',
 - - -

XXIX 10 τ' οὐχ [ῆ]ττον suppl. Mekler

11 ἀ[λλ'εὖ διε]τίθε[το] suppl. Mette

40 ἐλλείποντος Kalligas: εσειποντος P: †† Dorandi

Having already frequently made more progress over Autolycus and his followers as well as over Amyntes and having become the leader of a school, [he was no less well disposed] towards Dionysius because of both the man's sagacity and his discourse. He died later in the tenth year after the death of Carneades in the month of Thargelion, when Eumachus was archon in our city. ... because Carneades was very old, he already took over the vacant teaching seat of the school

XXX

and lived for six years as its director. Crates of Tarsus succeeded (in the directorship of) the school Polemarchus' son Carneades, who died during the archonship of Epicles. After he had directed the school for only two years, Clitomachus, who had a school in the Palladium, moved to the [Academy with many of his followers] ...

Arcesilaus' teacher in mathematics in order to posit a particular interest in the mathematical tradition of the Academy on the part of Boethus.⁵⁷

We cannot identify the Dionysius in l. 10; perhaps he was the one favoured by Boethus as successor in the school that he led.

Boethus died in 120/19 BC (archonship of Eumachus).

Col. XXIX 39–XXX 12

Following the lacuna at XXIX 18–38, we have Apollodorus' verbatim version of Carneades' succession. See above on XXIV 27–31; XXV 37–XXVI 4. There is no new information here, other than confirmation of the two-year duration of Crates' scholarchate, which suggests a source other than Apollodorus for XXV 37–XXVI 4.⁵⁸

There is no new information on Clitomachus either; see above on XXIV₃₂–XXV 20.

⁵⁶ Pace Dorandi 1991a: 72, Ἐφεσίῳ has to be taken with Εὐβούλου.

⁵⁷ Cf. Dorandi 1991a: 67 with n. 221. Boethus' date is too late for any actual contact with Autolycus of Pitane or any direct pupils of his. An Amyntas of Heraclea is mentioned by Philodemus among Plato's pupils (VI 1) and he too has been tentatively identified with the mathematician Amyclas of Heraclea mentioned by Proclus (*in Euc.* 67.8) as an associate of Plato's.

XXXI

- δὲ πρεσβεύσας π[ο]τὲ ἔπλευ-
 σεν εἰς Ῥώμην παρῆν τ' ἐ-
 π[ι]τυγχάνων. καὶ μὴν
 Μελάνθιον γε γιγνώσκεις
 5 ὅτι τραγωιδίαι μὲν ἦν ποτ'
 ἐστεφανωμένο[ς] ἱκανόν
 τ' Ἀριστάρχῳ συνεσχολ[α]-
 κῶς χρόνον πολὺ τ' ἐν
 Ἀθήναις μάλλον, ὥς [ἄνευ
 10 σχ[ο]λῆς ἄλλως ὑπάρχ[ων
 ἐν μεγάλῃ περιστάσει, τοῦ
 Κα[ρ]νεάδου δ' ἐν χ[- - -
 33 π.τατ.ναί. . ἄν-
 δρε[ς] ἐ]λλογιμώτ[ατοι·
 35 ἐπ' [Ἀρ]ισ[τ]οφάντου πρῶ-
 τον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικ[ή]ν κατέ-
 πλευσε, ἐτῶν ὧν εἴκοσιν
 τε καὶ [δ]ύο. τ[οῦ] Καρνεάδου
 δ' ὥς ἐπτά διακούσας ἔτη
 40 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπῆρ'. ἐκεῖ δ' εὐ-
 ημερῶν καὶ τῶν καθ' αὐ-
 τὸν φαινόμενος πολυχούσ-
 τ[α]τος, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἦλ-

XXXII

θ[ε καὶ] ταύταις ἐ[νὼν καὶ
 δυνάμενος ποικ[ι]λῶς πεί-
 θειν ὄχλους, καὶ γραμμά-
 των ἔμπειρος ἱκαν[ῶ]ς κα[ὶ]

XXXI 6 σχολὴν e corr. in P (λ superscr.): σχολὴν ante

9 ὥς [ἄνευ] suppl. Tsouna: ὧν [ἄνευ] Jacoby

10 π in ὑπάρχ[ων] superscr. P

43 εἰς τὰς Fleischer: [πάλιν εἰ]ς Dorandi

XXXII 2-4 δυνάμενος ποικ[ι]λῶς πείθειν ὄχλους, καὶ γραμμάτων Fleischer: θαυμάτων, ο<ῖ>ς ποικ[ι]λῶς {τ'} ἐ[πτά]θαι' ὄχλους, καὶ πραγμάτων Dorandi

XXXI

Once he sailed to Rome as an ambassador and had the opportunity to speak. You surely know that Melanthius also was once crowned in a contest for a tragedy (that he wrote) and, although he had studied for a long time with Aristarchus and even more in Athens, [because he did not have] a school, he, anyhow, [found himself] in great [difficulty] ... Carneades ... in ... [very illustrious men]. Initially, he (*sc.* Charmadas) sailed to Attica during the archonship of Aristophantes, when he was twenty-two years old. And after he studied with Carneades for about seven years, he went towards Asia. But although he prospered there, and although he appeared to be the most eloquent speaker of his contemporaries,

XXXII

he came to Athens. [And while he lived there], he was able to convince the crowds in many ways, and because he was sufficiently experienced in the study of letters and was naturally endowed with a good memory

Col. XXXI 1–3

It is not certain who went on this embassy, but the most likely subject is Clitomachus.

Col. XXXI 4–12

On Melanthius see above on XXIII 14. This section of Apollodorus' *Chronicle* dealt with Carneades' pupils and associates other than Clitomachus.

Col. XXXI 34–XXXII 10

There is no name in these lines, but the subject has been identified as Charmadas (Dorandi 1991a: 75). Following his study with Carneades he had a successful stint in Asia, followed by an even more successful return to Athens, capped by the award of citizenship

- 5 φύσει μνήμων, ἀνεγνώ-
κώς δὲ πολλά, ῥαιδίως [ἔ]τ[υ-
χε πολιτείας τε κἀνδόξου
σχολῆ[ς ἔ]ν τῷ Πτ[ο]λεμα[ί-
ωι τῷ[ν] ῥᾷφιφόμενων
10 ἔκει[α]ιν ἐξέδραν
αγο. ξίαν. τοῦ
Καρ[νεάδ]ου δ' [ἐγέν]οντ' ἀκουσ-
ταί .ντ. ρ[ί δ' ο]ῦκ ἐν
ἄστ[ει] τ[ὰς σ]χολὰς πεποι-
15 ημέ[νοι, Ἀ]ντ[ί]πατρος, ἔτι
δὲ Ζ[ηνό]δωρ[ος], ὧν ὁ μὲν
- - -
20 του. . Κα]ρχηδ[. . . . κε.
- - -
δ.ετ. τῇι Ἀ[λε]ξα[ν-
δρεία]ιτε.ε
- - -
32 - - - Εὐ-]
κλείδης καὶ [Καραπίων
καὶ Διογένης κα[ί] Ἡρόδο-
35 τος καὶ Στράτιππος [Ν]ικο-
μηδεῖς, Βατάκης Νικαιεὺς,
Εὐπείθης Πά[φ]ιος, Κριτόλαός
τ' Ἀμισσηνὸς Διομέδων [τε
Ταρσεύς, Πάμφιλος ἀπὸ [Μαι-
40 ἄνδρου Μάγνης, Ἀπολλώ-
νιος [Βα]ρκαῖος, [Ν]ικόστρατος
Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, Βόηθος Πάριος <- - ->

XXXII 7–8 κἀνδόξου σχολῆ[ς] Fleischer (η pro α superscr.): κἀν[ῶ]ίξε σχολᾶ[ς] Wilamowitz, Dorandi
11–13 τοῦ Καρ[νεάδ]ου δ' [ἐγέν]οντ' ἀκουσται suppl. Fleischer
16 Ζ[ηνό]δωρ[ος] suppl. Fleischer: [Μητρόδ]ωρ[ος] Mekler, Dorandi
32–3 ς in [Εὐ]κλείδης superscr. in P

and furthermore was widely read, he easily [obtained] citizenship and a famous school in the gymnasium of Ptolemy, although the youths training there ... teaching chair ... pupils of Carneades were ... [but] those who did not have their schools in the city, namely Antipater and also Zenodorus, of whom the one ... Alexandria ... Euclid and [Sarapion] and Diogenes and Herodotus and Stratippus of Nicomedia, Bataces of Nicaea, Eupithes of Paphos, Critolaus of Amisus [and] Diomedon of Tarsus, Pamphilus from Meander in Magnesia, Apollonius of Barca, Nicostratus of Alexandria, Boethus of Paros ...

and the establishment of his own school at the Ptolemaeum (where Antiochus of Ascalon would later hold lectures, Cic. *Fin.* 5.1).

Charmadas' success was largely due to his skill as an orator (cf. Cic. *de Orat.* 1.84) and teacher of rhetoric. His legendary powers of memory (cf. φύσει μνήμων, l. 5) are remarked upon by Cicero, Pliny and Quintilian, always alongside Metrodorus of Scepsis.⁵⁹ His school was attended by members of the Roman elite passing through Athens, such as the protagonists of Cicero's *de Oratore* (cf. 1.45–7, Crassus speaking).

See *de Orat.* 1.84–93 for more detail on Charmadas' views on rhetoric, which he sought to reclaim from the rhetoricians on behalf of philosophy. At *de Orat.* 1.47, Crassus claims to have read Plato's *Gorgias* closely under Charmadas.⁶⁰

Col. XXXII 13–16

Dorandi (1991a: 76) takes 'not in the city' to mean away from Athens, but it could be a reference to schools outside the city walls, unlike Charmadas' in the Ptolemaeum, but like the Academy itself.

Antipater is listed at col. XXIII 9 as a pupil of Carneades immediately following Charmadas.

Metrodorus could be the philosopher from Stratonicea (see above on XXIV 9–16), or the one from Scepsis, who is mentioned alongside Charmadas in Cicero, Pliny and Quintilian and is known to have taught in Asia (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.360).

Col. XXXII 17–42

Lines 17–32 are extremely lacunose.

⁵⁸ Dorandi 1991a: 73–4 resolves the discrepancy with the suggestion that there were two years during which Crates had effectively lost the leadership to Clitomachus, but remained nominally scholarch until his death.

XXXIII

λόγῳ καὶ τ[ὸ]μ βίον. Φ<ί>λων
 δὲ διαδεξάμ[ε]νο{ι}ς Κλει[τό-
 μαχ[ον] ἐγενν[ή]θη ἐπ' Ἀ-
 ρισταίχμο[υ, π]αρε[γ]ένε[το
 5 δ' εἰς Ἀ[θήν]ας π[ε]ρὶ τέ[τ]τα[ρα
 καὶ εἴ[κοσ]ιν ὑ[π]άρχων ἐ[τῶν
 κατὰ Νικόμαχο[ν], ἐσχολα-
 κῶς ἐ[ν] τῇ πατρὶδι Καλλ[ι-
 κλεῖ τῶι Καρ[ν]εάδου γ[νω
 10 ρίμῳι περὶ ὀκτ[ώ]σχ[ε]δόν] ἔ-
 τη, Κλειτομά[χῳ] δὲ δέκα
 καὶ τέ[τ]ταρ[α] . . . α.να
 . . . δ' Ἀπ[ολλοδῶ]ρωι δ' ἔ-
 τι δύο, Μν[ησάρχῳ] δ' ἐπτά
 15 τῶι Cτωικῶ[ι . . .]. ἥ[ρ]ξατο
 δ' ἡγεῖσθαι τῇ[ς] σχο[λ]ῆς [ἐ]π[ὶ
 Π]ολυκλείτου, [[βιῶσ]ας δ' [ἐ-
 ξήκοντ' ἔτ[η] κ[αὶ] [τ]ρί[α] κα-
 τέστρεψεν ἐπ[ὶ] Ν[ικ]ή[του]]. .ιν
 20 - - -

13-14 δ' ἔ[τι] suppl. Buecheler, Kirchner

14 Μν[ησάρχῳ] suppl. Puglia, Fleischer

17-18 [ἐ]ξήκοντ' ἔτ[η] κ[αὶ] [τ]ρί[α] suppl. Fleischer secundum Buecheler: [ἐβ]δ[ομή]κοντ' ἔτη [καὶ τέ]τ[ταρ]α Dorandi

17-19 [[]] ut e 39-41 iteratum del. Fleischer

18 καὶ τρία supra lineam legit Fleischer: om. Dorandi

XXXIII

(lived his) life in accordance with (his) doctrine. Philo, who was the successor of Clitomachus, was born during the archonship of Aristaichmus. He arrived in Athens during the archonship of Nicomachus, when he was approximately twenty-four years old, having studied in his own country with Callicles, Carneades' disciple, for [almost] eight years. On the other hand, (he studied) for fourteen years with Clitomachus ... [and, moreover], two (years) with Apollodorus and seven with the Stoic Mnesarchus ...

He began being the director of the school during the archonship of Polyclitus and ... having lived for sixty-three years, he died during the archonship of Nicetes ... [in] Italy in the third ...

Lines 32–42 are preceded by a *paragraphos* and contain part of the list of Carneades' pupils found at XXIII 40–XXIV 9, where again it is marked by a critical sign (see above on XXIII 9–XXIV 9).

Col. XXXIII 1–19

The final columns of PHerc. 1021 have benefitted from a number of studies by Puglia (Puglia 1998a; 1998b; 2000), as well as from a new edition of the *Life* of Antiochus by Blank (Blank 2007), which is adopted and translated here.

Lines XXXIII 1–19⁶¹ offer important biographical and chronological information on Philo of Larissa,⁶² the last head of the 'official' Academy in Athens. He was born in 158/7 BC (archonship of Aristaichmus) and came to Athens in 134/3 BC. It is significant that he had been able to receive some initial instruction in Academic philosophy under Callicles, a pupil of Carneades', in his home town of Larissa.

Philodemus informs us about Philo's further studies, for fourteen years with Clitomachus, two with a certain Apollodorus and seven with a Stoic whose name is missing: these twenty-three years of apprenticeship complete the time between Philo's arrival in Athens in 134/3 and his succession to the headship of the Academy in 110/9 (archonship of Polyclitus). There has been some debate on the identity of Philo's Stoic teacher, with some scholars suggesting that he may be identified with the Apollodorus of l. 13.⁶³

⁵⁹ Cic. *de Orat.* 2.360; *Tusc.* 1.59; Plin. *HN* 7.89; Quint. *Inst.* 11.2.26. Pliny says that Charmadas 'recited the contents of any volumes in libraries that anyone asked him to quote'.

⁶⁰ On Charmadas and rhetoric see Brittain 2001: 46–58; 312–28.

⁶¹ It is not clear who the initial words 'his life [in accordance with?] his doctrine' refer to; see Dorandi 1991a: 77 for the proposal that it may be Metrodorus of Stratonicea, whose *Life* was interrupted at col. XXVI by the verbatim extract from Apollodorus' verse *Chronicle*.

35] ἔξερ[γὰς]αμ[εν - - -
 39 . . .τωσαις. βιώσας δ'
 40 ἔξήκοντ' ἔτη καὶ τρία κατέ-
 στρεψεν ἐπὶ Νικήτου [- - -
 Ἰτ]αλίαν ἐν τῷ τ[ρ]ίτῳ τ[- - -

XXXIV

. . .υπεγηγ. ἐπιδραμῶ[ν
 . . .αρρῳι καὶ τὴν σχολή[ν
 αὐτοῦοσο. Μαίκιος ἐ-
 φ' ἡμῶν Ἀθήνηθεν π[αρα]βαλόν-
 5 των ἐξ Ἀ[λ]εξανδρείας
 κα[ι] διακατεῖχεν. ἦσαν
 δ' αὐτοῦ μαθ[η]ταὶ καὶ ἰόλλας
 ὁ] Καρδιανὸ[ς] καὶ Με[ν]εκρά-
 της Μιτυληναῖος ὁ [κ]αὶ κα-
 10 τὰ Γι[κ]ελίαν [ἐ]ως πρώτῃν
 διατρίβων καὶ Μνα[σ]έας
 Τύριος κα[ι] .ω. .ος Ἀκρα-
 γαντῖν[ος κ]α[ι] Μελάνθιος
 ὁ] Αἰσχ[ί]νο[υ] κα[ι] Λυσίμαχος

XXXIII 42 Ἰτ]αλίαν suppl. Puglia

XXXIV 4 ἡμῶν e corr. supra lineam P: ἦα ante

XXXIV

... giving a summary ... and his school ... Indeed, Maecius finally took over control of the school in our time coming from Alexandria, despite competition by contenders coming from Athens. His pupils were Iollas of Sardis, Menecrates of Mitylene, who was also until very recently living in Sicily, Mnaseas of Tyre and ... of Acragas, Melanthius son of Aeschines,

Puglia proposed the reading Μν[ησάρχῳ] δ' ἐπτα ἰ τῶι Στωικῶι, identifying Philo's teacher with the Mnesarchus known from Cic. *Luc.* 69 as a 'leader of the Stoics'.

Philo's death is placed in 84/3 BC (archonship of Nicetes).⁶⁴

Col. XXXIII 20–42

A new section starts at l. 20, following a *diplē obelismenē*, but almost nothing is legible until an alternative account of Philo's death starting at l. 39. On this account, Philo was sixty-something rather than seventy-four years old (l. 18) when he died. The discrepancy can be accounted for if we postulate different sources giving different dates of birth, because the second account also places Philo's death in the archonship of Nicetes.⁶⁵ Puglia proposes a harmonisation of the two accounts, suggesting that the sixty-nine years of lines 39–40 ('nine' being his own supplement) are the time Philo lived in Greece before leaving Athens for Rome during the Mithridatic War in 88 BC.⁶⁶ We can only speculate that the damaged lines 20–39 may have contained something about Philo's sojourn in Italy, where he was one of Cicero's teachers (cf. *Brut.* 306⁶⁷).

Col. XXXIV 1–6

These lines have caused a lot of controversy because they appear to contain (i) information about a successor to Philo⁶⁸ and (ii) a personal reference to Philodemus himself.

⁶² The major study on Philo and his brand of Academic philosophy is Brittain 2001.

⁶³ See Dorandi 1991a: 78 with n. 85; Puglia 2000: 18.

⁶⁴ For the circumstances of Philo's death and its controversial aftermath, see now Fleischer 2017.

⁶⁵ See Dorandi 1991a: 78–9; Glucker 1978: 100.

⁶⁶ He reads the lines in question as follows: βιώσας δ' [ἐννέα] | ἡξ[ι] ἐξήκοντ' ἔτη ` Α[. . . ἀπ]έ[θανε]ν ἐπὶ Νικήτου [κατ' | ἡ]αλίαν ἐν τῶι τ[ρ]ίτωι etc. (Puglia 2000: 20).

⁶⁷ 'at that time (sc. 88 BC), when Philo the leader of the Academy, along with prominent Athenians, left home to escape the Mithridatic War and came to Rome, I gave myself wholly to him ...'

⁶⁸ There can be no doubt that the person indicated by the αὐτοῦ at lines XXXIV 3 and 7 is Philo, and it is his pupils that are listed at XXXIV 7–16. See Puglia 2000: 24–6, endorsed also at Blank 2007: 89.

- 15 ὁ] πρότε[ρον φιλ]ολογή[σ]ας
καὶ] Ἡράκ[λε]ίτος ὁ μετασχ[ών
- - -
- 22 - - -]α Μνη-
[σ]ῶ[ρχ]ωι δ[ἐ] τῶ[ι] C[τω]ικῶι
πα[ρ]αβαλῶν [- - -
- 34 πατος διεγ[έν]ετο
35 . . . τὸ πλεῖστ[ον] τοῦ
βί[ου] πρεσβεύων ἀ[θή]νη-
θεν [ε]ῖς τε Ῥώμη[ν κ]αὶ πρὸς
τοῦς [ἐ]ν ταῖς ἐπαρχε[ῖαι]ς στρα-
τηγ[ού]ς, κα[ὶ] τ[ὸ] πέρας ἐν
- 40 τῇι Μ[ε]σοποταμίᾳ Λευκίωι
Λευκ[ό]λλωι προσκαρτε-
ρῶν [ἐ]τελεύτησεν ἡγα-
πημέ[νο]ς ὑπὸ πολλῶν κα-

XXXIV 16 ὁ μετασχ[ών] suppl. Fleischer

22-4 Μνη[σ]ῶ[ρχ]ωι δ[ἐ] τῶ[ι] C[τω]ικῶι πα[ρ]αβαλῶν suppl. Fleischer

34 πατος διεγ[έν]ετο suppl. Puglia: στ . διεδ[έξ]ατο Dorandi

35 τὸ πλεῖστ[ον] τοῦ suppl. Puglia

36 βί[ου] suppl. Puglia

36-7 Ἀ[θή]νηθεν suppl. Puglia

38 ἐπαρχε[ῖαι]ς suppl. Blank

39 κα[ὶ] τ[ὸ] πέρας suppl. Blank

40 Μ[ε]σοποταμίᾳ legit Blank: [Με]σοποτ[αμ]ίαι Dorandi

42-3 ἡγαπημέ[νο]ς Blank: παρε[ι]μένο[ς] Dorandi

Lysimachus who earlier was a lover of scholarship, Heraclitus who participated ...

(Antiochus), having studied with the Stoic Mnesarchus, ... continued ... for most of his life going on embassies from Athens both to Rome [and to the] generals in the provinces, and, in the end, while being in the service of Lucius Lucullus in Mesopotamia, he died beloved by many including myself

(i) Cicero (*Luc.* 17) implies that Philo had no successor and as a result the Academy 'lacked advocacy' after his death. Nevertheless, scholars have entertained the possibility of a successor (Sedley 1981: 74; Barnes 1989: 58), even though there can be no certainty as to his identity. In fact, Philodemus' text causes more problems than it solves, as it appears to offer the improbable Roman name of an otherwise unknown 'Maecius'.⁶⁹

(ii) In the same problematic sentence on the individual who 'kept hold of' Philo's school,⁷⁰ Philodemus appears to be offering a self-referential temporal specification.⁷¹ See the translation for a new interpretation of the passage, whose problems centre on the sense and syntax of the genitive παραβαλόντων: it has been taken to refer to Philodemus himself (in agreement with ἡμῶν) or even to an unidentified group of philosophers, perhaps Antiochus' followers travelling from Athens to Alexandria and back to Athens (Dorandi 1991a: 80; 1986: 116; Glucker 1978: 18).⁷² Such interpretations are partly due to the difficulties in making sense of the double expression of provenance, both Ἀθήνηθεν and ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας.⁷³ Moreover, it is hard to see how even Philodemus could have failed to supply the subject of the genitive absolute παραβαλόντων, if he intended it to be different from ἡμῶν.⁷⁴

Col. XXXIV 7–16

List of Philo's pupils (see above, n. 68). They are otherwise unknown, with the exception of Iollas, who may be the subject of an inscription at Sardis (*ISardis* 27; Habicht 1988b) and Heraclitus, whom we can identify with the Academic from Tyre that debated with

⁶⁹ See Glucker 1978: 99; Barnes 1989: 59, n. 35. Puglia tries to address the problem by proposing an unnamed individual from the city of Cios in Bithynia. The proposed reading is: ... [name missing] οἶμαι Κίος, Puglia 2000: 20–1.

⁷⁰ It seems that another main verb is required, to be connected in parataxis with καί [i] διακατεῖχεν, because the other meanings of καί are not appropriate here at the end of the sentence.

⁷¹ First-person references recur at XXXV 1; 7–8; see also *Ind. Sto.* LXXXVIII 2–4; LXXVI 6–7. See also Puglia 2004: 133–4.

⁷² See also Lévy 2012: 291–2, interpreting these comings and goings as evidence of an Academic 'network' involving Athens and Alexandria.

⁷³ Puglia (1998b: 135; 2004: 136–7) claims to have confirmed the reading Ἀθήνησιν, which would make much better sense, though Blank (2007: 87, n. 5) expresses some reservation. Ἀθήνησιν suggests location, not motion towards a place, and παραβάλλω is used (+ dative) in the sense of attending someone's lectures (D.L. 5.86; 6.21). A possible translation would be 'in my time, when I was attending lectures at Athens, having come from Alexandria'. It is not clear, however, whether this sense applies to παραβάλλω when used absolutely.

XXXV

- μοῦ καὶ αὐτός [ή]μᾶς ἀπο-
 δεδεγ[μ]έν[ο]ς. τὴν δὲ δι-
 ατριβὴν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο
 ἀδελφός ὦν καὶ μαθητῆς
 5 Ἄριστος· ἀκουστάς δὲ καίπερ
 ἀσχολούμενος ἔσχε πλεί-
 ους, καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήθεις ἡ-
 μῶν Ἀρίστωνά τε καὶ Δίω-
 να Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ Κρά-
 10 τιππον Περγαμηνόν, ᾧ[ν
 Ἀρίστων [μὲν] καὶ Κράτ[ιπ-
 πος ἐπ[εῖ δὴ Ξε]νά[ρχου δια-
 κούσαντε[ς] ζῆλον ἔ[σχον καὶ
 ἐγένοντο Περιπατη[τι-

XXXIV 43–XXXV 1 κάμοῦ Blank: κα<μάτων - - -> που Dorandi

XXXV 1–2 [ή]μᾶς ἀποδεδεγμένος Blank:δεδεγ[μ]έν[ο]ς Dorandi

2–3 διατριβὴν legit Blank: δι<α>τριβὴν Dorandi

10 ᾧ[ν] suppl. Buecheler, Blank

12 ἐπ[εῖ δὴ Ξε]νά[ρχου] suppl. Tsouna: ἐπ[εῖ Ξε]νά[ρχου] Puglia

12–13 διακούσα[ν]τε[ς] ζῆλον suppl. Puglia: . . [ή]κουσα[ν]ηλοις Dorandi

13 ἔ[σχον καὶ] suppl. Tsouna: ἔ[σχον] Puglia

XXXV

and having shown us his appreciation. His successor to the school was his brother and pupil Aristus. (Antiochus), despite the fact that he was occupied (*sc.* on the aforementioned embassies), had relatively many listeners including, notably, our companions Aristo and Dio of Alexandria and Cratippus of Pergamum, of whom Aristo and Cratippus, [having attended the lectures of Xenarchus, acquired] the strong desire to emulate

Antiochus at Alexandria (Cic. *Luc.* 11: 'Heraclitus had studied with Clitomachus for many years and with Philo').

Col. XXXIV 16–34

These lines are largely illegible, but must have contained the transition from Philo to Antiochus of Ascalon and the early part of Antiochus' *Life*.

Col. XXXIV 34–XXXV 2

Blank (2007: 89) confirms the reading διεγ[έν]ετο, also adopted by Puglia (cf. Dorandi 1991a: 80–1). This section, therefore, places a lot of emphasis on Antiochus' political activity on behalf of the Athenians. It may surprise us that Antiochus spent 'most of his life' on embassies: we should take it to mean 'most of his time' at a particular (probably late⁷⁵) stage of his life, and we should also recall the other famous embassy to Rome undertaken by three non-Athenian philosophers on behalf of Athens in 155 BC.

Antiochus' relationship with Lucullus is well documented, especially in Cicero's *Lucullus* (4; 11–12; 61) and Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus* (esp. 42.2–4). It was one of a number of relationships of patronage that developed between Roman aristocrats and Greek intellectuals in the first century BC. We do not know where or when Antiochus first met and recommended himself to Lucullus, but Philodemus' text might be a clue that they met on one of Antiochus' ambassadorial missions. We first find him in Lucullus' entourage in Alexandria in 87 BC, as described at Cic. *Luc.* 11–12.⁷⁶

The information on Antiochus' death supports what we find at Plut. *Luc.* 28.8, namely that he witnessed the battle of Tigranocerta in 69 BC, after which Lucullus did in fact spend some time in Gordyene in Mesopotamia.⁷⁷

Blank's new readings with the further first-person references (see above on XXXIV 1–6) add a lot more substance to Philodemus' characterisation of Antiochus' pupils as 'my

⁷⁴ See Sider 1996: 10 with n. 26; Puglia 1998b: 137–40. See also Gigante's objections, arguing that the first person of ἡμῶν is Philodemus' source (Apollodorus) and not Philodemus himself, Gigante 2001: 25–8.

⁷⁵ Thus Görler 1994: 44.

- 15 κοί, Δ[ί]ων δὲ τῆς ἀρ[χ]αία[ς] Ἀ-
καδημείας. [ἀ]φ' οὗ καὶ πο[λ]-
λούς τινας, [πρ]ώτους δ' ἀ[φ']
ῶν ξ . τ' εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρει-
αν [- - -

XXXV 15 Δ[ί]ων δὲ τῆς ἀρ[χ]αία[ς] suppl. Blank: ἀ[ποστα]τήσα[ντες τῆς] Dorandi
16–17 καὶ πο[λ]λούς τινας suppl. Fleischer: κατὰ [χρό]νον τιν[ὰ] Dorandi
17–18 [πρ]ώτους δ' ἀ[φ'] ῶν Blank: Ὡς τῶ[ι] κούς ἐκούω νεώτ[α]τ[α] Fleischer
18–19 εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Fleischer: .σα. .ξα . . . Dorandi

(him) [and] became Peripatetics, while Dio remained attached to the Old Academy. Because of him, several individuals, and primarily those from

friends' at XXXV 7–8), and offer an important insight into personal relationships between philosophers belonging to different schools.⁷⁶

Col. XXXV 2–5

These lines contain a clear reference to Antiochus' school: the term used by Philodemus (*diatribē*) was, from the Hellenistic period, 'synonymous with a philosophical community or school' (see Glucker 1978: 162–6) and Antiochus must have intended it to be a distinct teaching entity associated with a particular location and with an identifiable leader. From Cicero we learn that the chosen location was the Ptolemaeum gymnasium (*Fin.* 5.1; *Brut.* 315), and the school's name was 'Old Academy' (see below on XXXV 10–16).⁷⁷

Antiochus' brother Aristus was among Lucullus' entourage in the Alexandrian episode described at Cic. *Luc.* 11–12 and was also Brutus' philosophical companion (Cic. *Brut.* 332; Plut. *Brut.* 2; Glucker 1978: 112–13). The little evidence we have suggests that Aristus upheld his brother's teachings without much originality: at Cic. *Tusc.* 5.21–2 he is said to have reproduced in a debate ideas found in Antiochus' writings.

There is no evidence of a successor to Aristus; thus, we may conclude that Antiochus' school was short-lived.

Col. XXXV 5–10

Puglia has shown convincingly that the subject of these lines and of the verb ἔσχε is not Aristus, but Antiochus, the subject of the *Life* as a whole (Puglia 2000: 24–6⁸⁰). Philodemus acknowledges that Antiochus' busy schedule (cf. his ambassadorial missions) might have stood in the way of his philosophical teaching, but insists that this was not the case.

Philodemus' friendship with Antiochus' pupils is further testament to the cross-school network of personal relationships that emerges also from his remarks on the man himself. Aristo and Dio were in the circle of Antiocheans in Lucullus' company at Alexandria in 87 BC (Cic. *Luc.* 11).

⁷⁶ See Hatzimichali 2012: 16–20 on this patronage relationship and the question of Lucullus' actual interest in philosophy. See also Ael. *VH* 12.25 for further 'pairs' linked by such relationships.

⁷⁷ See also Cic. *Luc.* 61, and Hatzimichali 2012: 27–8.

⁷⁸ Blank 2007: 87; Hatzimichali 2012: 27.

- 33 Μητρόδ]ωρον Π[ιτα]ναῖον
 ὃς κ]αὶ τοῦ Στρατ[ο]νικέως
 35 διή]κουσε. Χαρμ[ά]δου δέ[.
αι τῶν πλανωμέ-
 νων . .ν πολλοί τι. . . φα-
 σιν] ἀκουσται [γεγο]νέναι
 Διόδ]ωρός [τ]ε ὁ [τυρ]άν[νου
 40 ἔχω]ν ὄνομα, [τὰ] κατὰ Μ[ι-
 θραδά]την [ο]ύκ εὖφ[η]μα δια-
 π[επ]ρᾶχθαι δοκῶ . .δια. . Ἀπολ-
 λ[ό]δωρος Τιαν]ός [- - -

XXXV 39 [τυρ]άν[νου] suppl. Mekler

40 [τὰ] suppl. Tsouna

XXXVI 2 λ² in Μαλλώτης superscr. in P

3 Τραλλιανός (λ² superscr.) Fleischer: Τραχιανός Dorandi

whom ... have [moved] to Alexandria ... of him ... Metrodorus of Pitane who also attended the lectures of (Metrodorus) of Stratonicea. Of Charmadas, however, ... many of those who travel around ... claim that they had been his students, and as for Diodorus, the one who bears the name [of the tyrant], I believe that [the actions] performed by him in accordance with [Mithridates] were not honourable ... Apollodorus of Tiana ...

Col. XXXV 10–16

The conversion of Aristo and Cratippus to the Peripatus is rendered less dramatic with Blank's new edition of the text, which does not include the conjectured participle ἀ[ποστὰ]τῆσα[ντες] ('having defected'). Blank's edition also confirms the name 'Old Academy' for Antiochus' school, as found also at Cic. *Luc.* 70; *Acad.* 1.13; *Brut.* 232; Plut. *Luc.* 42.2–4, and makes it absolutely clear that Dio never became a Peripatetic.⁸¹

We can only speculate as to the reasons behind Aristo and Cratippus' conversion, which is reasonably dated after Antiochus' death in 69/8 BC: it may be connected with the Aristotelian revival of the early first century BC, following the purchase and initial publication of some valuable Aristotelian manuscripts by Apellicon.⁸² Puglia's conjectural reading identifies Xenarchus of Seleucia as a direct influence leading to the conversion,⁸³ while Blank suggests that Antiochus' own teachings could have inspired his students to become Peripatetics.⁸⁴

Both Aristo and Cratippus are known only as Peripatetics outside Philodemus and Cicero's *Lucullus* (where only Aristo is mentioned). Aristo was one of the 'ancient commentators on the *Categories*' (Simpl. *In Cat.* 159.31–2),⁸⁵ while Cratippus was admired by Cicero as a foremost Peripatetic (*Off.* 2.8; 3.5).

By contrast, there are a number of sources referring to Dio of Alexandria as an Academic, confirming Philodemus' remark that he 'remained/was a member of the Old Academy'. He played an active part in Alexandrian political life and was murdered during an embassy to Rome in 57 BC.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ See also Hatzimichali 2012: 26. Polito 2012: 37–9 argues that this should not be taken to mean that Antiochus set up an institution in competition with a continuing 'official' Academy.

⁸⁰ Puglia shows how the *Lives* of both Philo and Antiochus end with a reference to each man's successor followed by a list of his pupils.

⁸¹ Pace Glucker 1978: 96.

XXXVI

- - - ἐπι]ικλ[ηθ]εῖς καὶ
 Ἑλιδόδω[ρο]ς Μαλλώτης καὶ
 Φανόστρατο[ς] Τραλλιανὸς
 εὔ[] πρὸς ὄχ[λ]ων ψυχαγωγί-
 5 αν ἡχο[υ]σμένος· ἐλέγετο
 δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώνι[ος τοῦ] Καρ-
 νεάδο[υ β]ραχύν τινὰ χρό-
 νον με[τ]εσχ[η]κέναι. [Μη]τρο-
 δώρου δὲ [τ]οῦ Στρατ[ο]νικέ-
 10 ως [μ]ετ' ἄλλων καὶ [ὁ] Κυζι-
 κηνὸς ἐγένε[το] Μητρόδω-
 ρος μαθητὴ[ς - - -
 15 ποτ.δε.α. . . .Εὐκλείδου
 καὶ τῶν ἀ[πὸ] Πλάτωνος,
 ἔτι δὲ τῶν [ἄλλω]ν [τῶ]ν ἐ[πι-
 γεγο[ν]υῶν αἰρέ]σεων τε
 κα[ὶ δι]αδοχῶν συνα[γωγῇ
 20 - - -]ορ[

4-5 ὄχ[λ]ων ψυχαγωγίαν ἡχο[υ]σμένος suppl. Fleischer: [π]ᾶ[σα]ν ψυχαγωγίαν ἡκ[ριβ]ωμ[ένος]
 Dorandi

XXXVI

... [who bore the nickname of] ... and Heliodorus of Mallos and Phanostratus of Tralles, who was famous for the way in which he beguiled the masses. Furthermore, it was said that also Apollonius associated with Carneades for a short time. Metrodorus of Cyzicus also became, among others, a pupil of Metrodorus of Stratonicea ... (I have compiled?) a comprehensive list of Euclid's (disciples) and of the disciples of Plato and, moreover, of the [other] schools and successions that have followed ...

Col. XXXV16–XXXVI 13

Following the *Life* of Antiochus and his short-lived succession, Philodemus presents us with a list of names associated with the Academy during its final stages, but who do not 'fit' neatly into any particular succession. There appear to be three main teachers whose pupils and associates are discussed: one whose name is lost in the substantial gap (XXXV 18–32); Metrodorus of Stratonicea (on whom see above on XXIV 9–16); and Charmadas (on whom see above on XXXI 34–XXXII 10).

Metrodorus of Pitane was taught by the unknown Academic and by Metrodorus of Stratonicea. Charmadas' pupils included many 'itinerant' philosophers, further testament to the demise of Athens as undisputed centre of all philosophical activity by the early first century BC. These travelling teachers apparently advertised their apprenticeship with Charmadas to enhance their status.

The Diodorus of XXXV 39–42 must be the one referred to by Strabo (13.1.66): 'misfortune befell Adramyttium in the Mithridatic War, for the members of the city council were slaughtered, to please the king, by Diodorus the general, who pretended at the same time to be a philosopher of the Academy, a dispenser of justice, and a teacher of rhetoric.'

⁸² Strabo 13.1.54; cf. Moraux 1973: 45–58; Frede 1999: 773–5.

⁸³ Puglia 1998a: 148. Cf., however, Falcon 2012: 12.

⁸⁴ Blank 2007: 92, n. 24.

⁸⁵ On Aristo see Mariotti 1966; Hatzimichali 2011: 43–6.

PHerc. 164*fr. 5*

-- -] Πλάτ[ω]νο[ς -- -] ἄλλα πάντα [- - -

fr. 12

ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Τιμό]λαος, Καλλιγένη[ς, Ἀθ]ηναῖος Τ[ι]μόλαος, [ὥς] ἐν τῷ
[Περι]δείπνῳ [Πλάτωνος ἰ]στορεῖ Σπεύ[σιππος, Ἀρχύ]τας Ταραν[τίνος,
Χίων ὁ] τὸν ἐν Ἡ[ρακλείῃ -- -

fr. 13

]ον δὲ Δίων [- - -] καὶ Διονύσιον μένοντος αὐτο[. . πο]λὺν χρόνον [- - -

fr. 14

-- -] Ἀθήνας [- - -

fr. 19

δράκοντ]ι καὶ δηχθεῖ[σαν] ἀποθανεῖν. λέ[γει δ' ἄ]νθρωπος καὶ [βελτίο]
να μαθητὴν [τε καὶ] πολίτην γεγο[νέναι -- -

fr. 22

--- Δικ]αίάρχος φησιν [-- -] ἄλλα τε δειξάμενος διὰ τόλμης ἔργα κα[λὰ ---

fr. 24

καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δοῦναι. [Φα]ινίας [δ' αὐ]τὸν λέγ[ει] φιλότιμον

PHerc. 164*fr. 5*

... of Plato ... everything else ...

fr. 12 (cf. VI 10–15)

Timolaus [of Cyzicus], Calligenes, Timolaus of Athens, [as] Speusippus records in *Plato's Funeral Banquet*, [Archytas of Tarentum, Chion, who (eliminated the tyrant) in Heraclea ...

fr. 13

... but Dio (or: of Dio) ... and Dionysius ... remaining ... much time ...

fr. 14

... Athens ...

fr. 19 (cf. X 9–14)

(she stepped) [on a serpent], was bitten and perished. The man (mentioned above) says that there had been both a [better] pupil and a better citizen ...

fr. 22 (cf. XI 19–21)

... Dicaearchus says ... and having exhibited also other fine actions performed through daring ...

fr. 24 (cf. XII 1–3)

and to give away the women. Phaenias says that he was a lover of honour

Fragments of PHerc. 164

See the commentary on the parallel passages of PHerc. 1021 indicated in the translation.

Fr. 22 and 24

Mekler linked fr. 22 with col. XI 17–21, the extract from Hermippus on Chaeron of Pellene, while fr. 24 corresponds very closely to XII 2–3, still on Chaeron.

fr. 26

τῶν πρώ]τω[ν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλέ]γετο δ' [εἶναι τῶν ἐπί] τινὰ χρ[όνον
 ἄρματο]τροφη[σάντων. ἴστο]ρεῖται δ[ὲ καὶ νεανι]κῶ[ς] ἀ[κόλαστος - - -

fr. 27

- - -] ἔ[χων δὲ γενν]αῖόν τι κ[αὶ ταῖς αὐθ]αδίαν κα[ὶ ξηρότητ]α γραφ[αῖς
 ἐμφαινούσ]αίς [- - -

fr. 29

- - -] καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν [- - -] ὁμοῦ δε [- - -] διατριβήν [- - -

fr. 31

- - -] ἦττον εἶνα[ι ...] δοκεῖ [- - -

fr. 26 (cf. IV 40–5)

one of the noblest Athenians, he (*sc.* Polemo) was alleged to be one of those who, for a certain [period, bred horses for chariot races]. It is recorded that he was also [licentious] in the most reckless manner ...

fr. 27 (cf. XIII 43–XIV 1)

... but nonetheless [had] something noble about him, (and he resembled) paintings (of men) exhibiting self-confidence and austerity ...

fr. 29

... and many ... together ... school ...

fr. 31

... to be less than ... it seems ...

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